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DOSSIER ON EAST TIMOR

MARCH 1982

A COLLECTION OF MATERIAL GATHERED IN INDONESIA DURING MARCH 1982.

INCLUDES TRANSLATIONS OF DOCUMENTS COMPILED IN EAST TIMOR AND RECORDS OF INTERVIEWS WITH EAST TIMORESE AND CONCERNED INDONESIANS.

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ADRESS: TUINSTRAAT 79, 1015 NZ AMSTERDAM

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Distributed by:
A.C.F.O.A. East Timor Sub-committee,
P.O. Box 1562,
Canberra City. A.C.T. 2601
Australia.

EAST TIMOR DOSSIER - 1982 : CONTENTS GUIDE

DOCUMENT No.1

This document represents the reflections of East Timorese Religious presented to the Indonesian Major Superiors meeting in September 1981. This version is the final form of the statement following meetings in June and July of 1981 between Religious Brothers, Sisters and Priests of East Timor. This final version went through a number of drafts. It represents a common view.

There are approximately 45 Religious Nuns, Brothers and Priests as well as Diocesan Priests in East Timor. Most of them work in Education, Health or Parish duties outside Dili. (Transl. from Indonesian; 4pp)

DOCUMENT No.2

Not infrequently, groups of Timorese meet to exchange information on recent events and attempt to discern trends. This document is material for such reflection - that is, a 'working paper'. It is in note form and summarises the participants' experiences. The topics reflect many of the major concerns of East Timorese today. Identity of the group not for publication. (Transl. from Indonesian; 2pp)

DOCUMENT No.3-5

Some East Timorese are anxious that events in East Timor are recorded. Documents 3-5 represent an attempt by teachers to do this. Students have been asked to record their experiences while on holidays in various parts of East Timor. The translations were taken from the original hand-written accounts.

Doc. 3: Describes events in Baucau district in June 1981 - particularly refers to Operasi Keamanan. (Transl. from Portuguese; 2pp)

Doc. 4: A graphic account of events in Manatuto area in July 1981 - especially concerning the killing of some Fretilin members. There appear to be some internal inconsistencies which we have not attempted to reconcile. The use of the word "Bapas" is common amongst East Timorese in referring to Indonesians - obviously derived from Bapak (Mister). (Transl. from Portuguese: 4pp)

Doc. 5: Writer clearly separates what he saw from what he was told. Note his observations of people being rounded up for "exile" - probably to Atauro. (Transl. from Portuguese; 2pp)

DOCUMENT No.6

Continuing serious shortages of basic necessities in cluding food is often lost sight of in debate over the word "famine". In early March, news stories in Jakarta dailies based on the Whitlam/Hastings and International Red Cross trips to Timor were headlined "No famine in East Timor" (see for example Doc.25, page 6). This document outlines estimates of the food situation in East Timor made by Church personnel for their own information.

DOCUMENT No.7

Compiled by a well-placed East Timorese in Dili from information gathered by from numerous sources. (Transl. from Portuguese; 3pp)

DOCUMENT No.8

Compiled by author of Doc.7. Recent visits to Atauro by Red Cross and some journalists, as well as the launching of an emergency food aid program there in April 1982 suggest that physical conditions may have changed since November 1981 when this document was compiled. It still offers a graphic account of why East Timorese are there and what they feel about it. (Transl. from Portuguese. 2pp)

DOCUMENT No.9

A lengthy essay on events during the months of August-September 1981 - the height of the major Indonesian offensive last year. It consists of a compilation of eye-witness accounts and general conclusions by the author. The author is clearly a supporter of the East Timorese resistance - praising their readiness to surrender rather than shoot their countrymen who have been forced to participate in army operations by Indonesian commanders. The document details some horrific events in the Lacluta area. (Transl. from Portuguese; 12pp)

DOCUMENT No.10

Compiled by an East Timorese who spent three years with the resistance until his surrender in December 1978. Document describes trends in Indonesian treatment of East Timorese over the years and offers hitherto undescribed incidents. Written in late 1981. (Transl. from Portuguese; 7pp)

DOCUMENT No.11

The Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Mgr Lopes, has been subject to public criticism and slander in early 1981. This document provides cogent evidence of a particular attempt by him to facilitate the cause of justice - but to find his efforts thwarted by senseless murders. It also demonstrates his style of reporting and concern to have clear records. The incidents described have been well documented elsewhere. (Transl. from Indonesian; 1pp)

DOCUMENT No.12

Two statements - one by a Timorese in East Timor and another by an Indonesian in Jakarta illustrate the sort of reaction of well-placed and informed people to press reports of the Whitlam/Hastings and International Red Cross visits to Timor in early 1981. (Dili letter transl. from Portuguese; 4pp)

DOCUMENT No.13

Fragments from letters received by East Timorese outside Timor from friends and relatives. (Transl. from Portuguese; 1pp)

DOCUMENT No.14

Provides detail on the location of East Timorese Church personnel. (5pp)

DOCUMENT No.15

Provides details of and indicates difficulties in the Dili Church's school system. (Transl. from Indonesian; 3pp)

DOCUMENT No.16

A compilation of views on Mgr Lopes from people who know him well. Intended as a background document only. (4pp)

DOCUMENT Nos.17-24

Internal documents of International Red Cross: Situation Reports 1-6, a 1979 letter and an annex to an unspecified document. Not included in this dossier.

DOCUMENT No.25

A selection of press material concerned with the Whitlam/Hastings and International Red Cross visits to East Timor in early 1982. Consists of a summary of Indonesian-language press accounts of ICRC press conference (1-2), Reuters and Associated Press reports of same conference (3-5), one English-language press account (6) and a transcript of Gough Whitlam's press conference in Jakarta at the CSIS building on 5 March 1981 (7-20)

DOCUMENT No.26

Consists of notes of interviews conducted in Indonesia during March 1982. East Timorese and concerned Indonesians were among the informants. The interviews were aimed at accumulating data on the current situation in Timor as well as allowing the informants to 'describe their own reality'. These records of interview are not verbatim but they are faithful portrayals of the content of the conversations. Most interviews were conducted in Indonesian and recorded in English. (50 pages)

The following is a guide to topics covered in the interviews:

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DOCUMENT No. 1

REFLECTIONS OF THE EAST TIMORESE RELIGIOUS
A CONTRIBUTION TO THE 1981 MASRI SESSION

Introduction

We do not intend giving an analysis of the East Timor problem, but only to reflect together on the faith of the East Timorese people in the actual situation. An analysis of that problem has already been put forward in SEM April 1980. We realise that in analysing the problem as such we would not be speaking from heart to heart, our communications would still be shallow. Consequently there easily arises misunderstandings which were not desired, or which give the impression that we are always complaining or begging. It is indeed true that the East Timorese church has many needs which cannot be fulfilled by whatever means, even by the Indonesian church itself.

Before this, it seems that there is a need for a good relationship, mutual understanding in the faith given to us by God. Because of this we felt attracted by the invitation from the Board of MASRI to take part in the General Session of MASRI from the 8th to the 18th of September 1981 in the Klender Retreat House, East Jakarta. We were also very much interested in the main theme of the meeting this year which can be summarised as 'The Religious Community in its service to the Faithful'.

In connection with this main theme we organised a reflection together, aware and convinced that only in reflection could we communicate with each other.

We also recognise that a sincere communication demands a long process because of the widely varying backgrounds, despite many similarities in community and faith. Our communication will be successful based on deep reflections from all of us, both in our own groups as well as together, specifically concerning the main theme of MASRI this year.

Our dialogue was successful, and on that basis our cooperation in an atmosphere of togetherness will certainly develop without unnecessary misunderstandings, and will become a positive contribution to the Indonesian religious as well as to the religious of East Timor although there are differences in the history of the church and its government.

We must all realise that the Indonesian National Army which liberated Indonesia from the colonial power in an astonishing manner will never liberate the people of East Timor from their colonial situation towards autonomy and national independence because its situation and reality are very different.

That which has taken place during these five years is most significantly: invasion, war, looting, the destruction of the indigenous population, territorial subjection, colonial exploitation, the expulsion of the indigenous population who are replaced by people from other islands, military occupation, attempts for mass mobilisation of people (from 12 to 55 years) to make war on each other. Actually the wish and desire of the East Timorese people from the beginning has been the right to determine their own fate and not mass murders such as have been done by their neighbours.

In this reflection we seek a similar understanding of human and spiritual standards rooted in our faith towards God. A reflection and all the experiences of the East Timorese people will bring us, the religious, closer to those people and will deepen the missionary spirit in the service of the faith towards the community. We hope that this seed of faith, which is strong and beautiful, can help the people overcome all the difficulties which now disturb them.

The missionary spirit which is deeply felt by the religious in and service to the East Timorese people, is still difficult to formulate, and possibly more difficult to communicate in this session to be later experienced, because it is a new element which can only be found and felt by experiencing the concrete situation of the people.

1. The Situation and Emotional Environment of the People of East Timor.

The people of East Timor are suffering. They feel themselves misunderstood, although knowing what is happening and aware that they are being humuliated. But they remain in a position which is very clear concerning their ideals. In the midst of all of this their faith stands firm and is strengthened although it is not always able to be expressed in words, but is seen with the eyes of faith by the religious who accompany the people.

The East Timorese religious feel solidarity with the people and because of that feel obliged to express the people's experience of faith. This is even more so because they are in the midst of the people, in a position which helps to understand and formulate better the faith or the people, particularly because they know the language standards and heart of the people.

That which was not hoped for has truly happened; the people's way of life has been turned upside down and the basis of the community life has been destroyed. Masses of the population have been forced to shift in large numbers to places far away and unknown. This has already happened several times and in the last few months thousands of East Timorese have been exiled from their own homeland. Consequently, apart from them having lost all their possessions there is alienation and disintegration of families. There are continually new orders from above on 'security' which actually destroys and confuses the people. People who have been concentrated in (certain) areas and who live in dire poverty, in an atmosphere of false peace, have been forced to accompany the army to the mountains. A few months ago some villages were noted which were entirely empty of male inhabitants because all of the male work force was forced to leave their families, houses, fields, and work just to accompany the Indonesian army morning and night for months on end without any medical care and food at all. They were aged 12 to 55.

The seriousness of the health and the rebellious mood of those who return to their huts can no longer be denied.

In the meantime those who remain at home are the mothers, wives, daughters and older people who live out their faith and sadness in continual prayer.

The people are now experiencing oppression without end, their rights are not acknowledged. The people do not have a voice, and even live in fear. Indeed the people live in a situation of continual war, and thus must be silent, and submissive. The produce of their soil is seized, such as coffee, teak, cattle and even their property rights themselves. The army monopolises everything. Confronted by this situation the people do not get an explanation for any of it. Thus they suffer more and feel their faith more.

The people are aware that their faith comes from God whose Word takes the form of social justice. This justice derives from the justice of God in His relations with His people. This justice must be built by the people themselves based on faith and cooperation with God and one's fellow man who are still the sacrifices to oppression. For us living the faith without serious endeavours for the building of social justice is the same as making faith merely foreign and mystical. Creating justice together with the present Indonesian government is not possible, or not yet, although the people desire justice greatly. A faith which illumines the minds of the people cannot develop in a Christian action, because social justice has not yet come into being. There is as yet no way out from the oppression from above. Because of that we, the religious, must always be alert and thoughtful that the faith of the people is not trodden on.

Becoming in accord with faith means always finding new forms of endeavour. It means that justice is not something which is individual or the concern of the government.

2. Basic Groups

While these events have been happening the people have developed in their efforts to become the community of God. Certainly there were such efforts earlier, but it is now more realised and strengthened because the need is felt to unite in the faith. Often we hear 'only God can make us safe'. This means: the certainty of religious standards faced with the facts of the destruction.

Signs of this sort can be felt in groups of teachers, catechists, the basic groups which consider the efforts of the pastor in social and economic activities in various villages although with many difficulties and dangers. The same thing is experienced in clerical communities which serve the believers. Also becoming clearer is the simplicity and beauty of the faith which gives life to the calling of the community and of the religious.

We now face an endeavour to build, and find again that which was lost with a loving spirit in the field of housing, food, health, education, clothing, technical skills, agriculture, animal husbandry and trade. Because five years of war have truly damaged and destroyed completely all the existing types of infrastructure. That which is described above is indeed very difficult for the people themselves to do because they still face many robberies, burning off houses, difficulties in travel and more, because of intimidation and terror. We are very concerned that a consequence of all these military operations and population movements in the last few months will be the food and health situation becoming more serious as well as a rise in the numbers of those lost or killed.

There have already been positive initiatives from missionaries and the religious, with charitable contributions from MAWI and other organisations to consider various kinds of difficulties and needs. We are aware that these efforts cannot be realised without participation from the basic groups.

3. Our Faith and Hopes for a Mutual Understanding and Cooperation with the Community and Religious of Indonesia.

Our connections with the Universal Church with the religious and the wider world were suddenly cut off. We are the religious of East Timor who still together with the people were suddenly thrown into emptiness and alienation for six years until we became the dumb Church of East Timor.

Now we are more aware of the faith, that this experience was very useful because our faith was deepened and more felt in life as a gift from God. This faith says that we are still one with the universal Christian Church. It is precisely the dimensions of that universal faith which are being felt and deepened.

We are aware that we were 'persuaded' have relations with the Indonesian Church which is the nearest Church and which is authorised by the Government and Army to straight away create relations with us. We hope that this 'persuasion' developes as a factor in an honest meaning, both from our side, the East Timorese religious as well as from the Indonesian religious, all based on a faith which will help us become one religious fellowship in the Church.

It was just with this aim that we wrote these reflections. Only based on honesty, sincerity and openness without prejudice and underhand behaviour can we build the Christian Church upholding the dignity of our people. We cannot put to one side or consider unimportant the misunderstandings and great difficulties which are a consequence of the actions of the government against the people, against the religious, the faithful and the Bishop.

These wounds must be healed via a long process from the two sides on the basis of sincerity in faith, hope and love.

We must also acknowledge that we do not yet understand why the Indonesian Church and the Central Roman Church have up till now not stated openly and officially their solidarity with the Church, people and religious of East Timor. Perhaps this has been the heaviest blow for us. Seeing the extent of the tragedy of the East Timorese people which has been going on for six years with a number of victims more than 200,000 people, otherwise known as an incident already well known throughout the world we felt stunned by this silence which seemed to allow us to die deserted. Because of that we organised this dialogue with a sincerity of heart, hoping that we could be understood or, if needs be, forgiven, in the faith.

We also realise that the Indonesian Church suffers too, extreme actions from the Government or from other groups who oppose us. It is this fact that gives us hope that step by step we will achieve mutual understanding in the same faith. This faith will grow, supporting and healing the wounds if we reflect together on all the evil and the tragedy which befell our people.

Based on a faith which grows from togetherness our cooperation too will develop.

We are convinced in faith that all things are possible if we are all loyal to the faith of the community which has an understanding and impression of Pancasila which is wrong, because the army which represents Pancasila acts against Pancasila itself.

Certainly we all need to listen to and put into practice the language of faith and the language of the hearts of the community/people. If we do not it is we who will lose the faith, and as a consequence all of our spirituality and service will also lose its meaning. Not recognising and valuing the faith of the people is an injustice on the part of the religious towards the faith of the community. It is the same injustice as wanting to destroy or replace the indigenous cultural standards which have been fostered for centuries in the name of assimilation which for the people of East Timor is merely something which is forced on them. This only demonstrates an excessive ignorance of the history and Christian traditions of the people of East Timor. It is also a challenge and a test for us, the religious, the bloody echo of 80,000 catholic martyrs who fell in these last five years in East Timor. The Church which lives is only the church which puts into practice the faith of its people and is able to express that which they experience, feel, live and suffer.

4. Our Contribution to the Dialogue on 'The Religious Community in its Service to the Faithful'.

We feel delighted to be able to seek together a base and a root of faith which at the same time is a base and root for the union of our communities in one Church. The theme of MASRI this year also pleases us greatly because we have for a while now already tried it and begun to put it into practice in our small communities, and in the basic groups of the community. Our faith as religious is being deeply tested, but we are not afraid because that faith says that the self indeed must be tested in accord with the mystery of salvation, that is that on the cross is found salvation.

This faith which was raised up by God amidst the people, we wish to share with the superiors of the religious societies and congregations in Indonesia. From this dialogue and sharing will emerge new supports for our faith.

We hope that this our communication, can be useful for the religious who are chosen or sent to serve the community in East Timor. And for the fields of labour which we are unable, or have no opportunity to tackle, you tackle them. For our brothers whom we cannot save, whom we cannot reach, it is you who must stretch out your hand and save them as the man of Samaria of good heart did for the sick men, for the prisoners, for the exiles, and for those whose hate is not know ...

AMDGVM

31st July 1981
The Feast of Saint Ignatius Loyola
Founder of the Society of Jesus.

Composed by a group of Timorese

DOCUMENT No. 2

Materials for reflection on the situation in East Timor.

1. The situation of the People

a) Hunger. People are forced to live in several areas where there are few plants or possessions. Because of that many people die every day, despite the CRS aid. CRS is still very much needed. The Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) impede the medical and food aid which is needed by the people.

b) The Distress and Loathing of the People. The injustice, oppression and all the shortcomings in humanitarianism of the army distress the people greatly, and give rise to a popular sentiment or loathing towards the Indonesians.

Incidents:- Foodstuffs which should be handed over to the people are sold by the local military command, and often medicines are also sold in the shops at high prices.

- The army falsifies the Fretilin attacks to carry out mass murders.

- Houses are burnt to the ground, possessions seized and many people are imprisoned without knowing their absence.

- Prisoners: at night prisoners are first tortured, then killed.

- Women are taken at night from their families then carried away to be raped.

- In prison men and women are severely beaten.
- Not given food.
- Given electric shocks.
- Women's clothes are removed, then they are burnt with cigarettes on the breasts and genitals if they do not allow themselves to be raped.
- Men and women are ordered together to take off their clothes and are forced to perform the sexual act.
- Small children are smashed against walls and posts.
- Prisoners, having been tortured for several months are returned to their homes without knowing their offence.
- Many families are banished to far places.

c) Is there a plan for the extermination of the people?

- Slowly the youth are being wiped out.
- There are stories that ten thousand Timorese will be killed in the near future.
- The total population of the Turiskai area before 1975 was 12,000 and is now 3,000.
- The total population of the Maubisi region before 1975 was 24,000 and is now 11,000.
- The total population of the Zumalai region before 1975 was 11,000 and is now 6,000.
- The total population of the Dare region before 1975 was 13,000 and is now 3,000.

It is the same in other areas.

d) Becoming Indonesian Citizens

- All the people are forced (there is no other alternative) to hold Indonesian citizenship.

e) Apparently there is no law

- Crime, and all offences are neither tried nor punished. Only those who have weapons can and may do anything.

Incidents:- In the Dare area last June, 3 men and 2 women and 1 child were shot, without being charged, in front of the people.

- In the Lakle area last July, 4 men were killed in front of the people.
- Privately owned land is stolen.
- private goods belonging to the house are taken away and broken.
- The wives of prisoners are raped.
- Women aged twenty and below are raped, and there are even girls aged between ten and twelve who are wickedly raped until torn by knives.
- There is not enough expenditure on transporation.
- Houses have been burnt to the ground.
- The stronger make their own justice.

f) The people do not feel respected.

The government hospital:

- For several months has not had enough water.
- There is a shortage of medicines for those who are hospitalised. Often families of sick people go down to the city and buy the needed medicines.
- There is a shortage of ambulances. There is only one ambulance for the needs of the hospital, but it can only get 6 litres of petrol a day. But besides that ambulance there are other ambulances which are seen travelling continuously, their aim is not known.
- People who are suffering and need to be hospitalised would rather die at home than be admitted to the hospital. For example in the whole regency of Ainaro, which has an extensive area, there were only five people in the hospital last August. In other areas the situation is exactly the same.
- In some areas there are poly clinics which do not have one aspirin tablet.
- In the hospitals there are cases of forced sterilisation of women.
- 'Tips' and 'Travel papers' are a motivation to impoverish the people. There is a saying amongst the army people: 'It's a pity that those who got here first carried off everything, and now there's nothing at all left for us.'

2. The situation of the Catholic Community

It may be said that the East Timor region is a Catholic region: most of the people are Catholic, those who are not yet baptised are very close to receiving that sacrament. Because of that the atmosphere in general is Catholic.

a) The Danger of the Introduction of Islam.

-Before Indonesia entered (E Timor) in 1975 there was a slogan: 'Indonesia must enter to free the people of Timor from the danger of "communism"'. In the present situation there is another danger, that is that the people can become Muslim.

Consequences:- There is a move from the Islamic side to compell the people to convert to Islam.

- Many Muslim teachers have begun to flood in, and have begun to teach in the schools.
- Gradually the standard of morality has begun to drop.
- The introduction of bad customs.
- Mosques have been begun, or there are plans to build them, in several areas. This matter gives rise to unpleasant feelings amid the Catholic ommunity.

b) We feel that is is very important to begin a program of inculcating Christian teachings among the people of Timor, relevant to their own culture, their own customs and traditions, and their own language.

DOCUMENT No.3

REPORT ABOUT MY HOLIDAYS

On the 9th June 1981 we departed to Baucau to spend our school holidays of 1980-81. We travelled by 'bis kota' (passenger bus). Our journey was very good as nothing happened on the way. We left Dili at 9 am and arrived in Baucau at 2 pm.

I stayed in Baucau from 10th June to 20th June 'July' 1981. During these days of my stay I found that the atmosphere was different from the previous time as there was a lot more military cars, tanks, soldiers and civilian people; also around the church and in every corner there are army tents. It is sad to see such an atmosphere which frightens the people pervading the village.

29th June: At 8 am there was a Fretilin attack 25 km from the village of Laga. In this assault the nationalist forces didn't suffer any casualties and the Indonesian forces lost two Hansips and one T.B.O. (*Tenaga Bantuan Operasi* - "auxiliaries"). Their weapons were all taken by Fretilin. As the *Bapaks* heard the noise of the shooting they all ran away instead of reinforcing the Hansips and protecting them.

29th June: They started to enlist boys, men and old men to go to Raumoco bacause the people of Lospalos had arrived in Raumoco and didn't have sufficient forces to control the area, so they had to request aid from Baucau. Thus in Baucau the military and chiefs of sucos started to collect and enlist people from 29.6.81. When they started to enlist the people, there was a person who said: "They are going to exterminate all of us. That's why they are doing these things, because the Fretilin in the bush are decreasing. That's why they take all these opportunities to kill the people by sending them to the bush without weapons in their hands and also without food, so that they could carry all the valuable things they come across throughout the country. This is the plan of the Indonesian government to operate within East Timor." In other parts of the world when there is war the civilian people never take part in military battle but in Indonesia the civilians are forced to take part. One of the things we discovered is their weakest part is that the armed forces are getting nowhere so they have to force the people to go into the bush to see if they could overcome the resistance. In this way they only create hatred among the people.

1st July 1981: Today in the centre of the eastern part of the island they begin a new campaign with the corrupt Indonesians forcing the oppressed people in Baucau. Some people escaped from the enlistments but in administrative posts like Quelicai, Laga, Baguia, Venilale and Vemasse none could escape. All the people including boys of 8 years old upwards had to go to the bush. Everywhere you see mothers begging for their children and their husbands, also children without parents. Almost in every corner you see people suffering because of Javanese actions. With their threats people are humiliated and offended. Nobody can say anything bad against them as they are considered men of corruption and the biggest enemy that the people of East Timor have ever encountered till now. In evidence, people see clearly their methods of exploitation and robbery of people's possessions. As I witnessed these things in Baucau, someone said: "For me I prefer a European colonialism to the colonialism of the Third World." They talk a lot about God's words and they use it to exploit and rob people bacause their God also does the same to the poor people. During their deceits the people don't know, but that doesn't mean they are ignorant. The people have experienced suffering and exploitations from man to man such as politically and mentally, the right for self-determination etc.

The smallesterror that the Javanese commit here in Timor is known by even the monkeys on Mt. Matabian. The people may be illiterate or blind but they are conscious and feel that they have been robbed. The Javanese are morally and spiritually corrupt people who only act on their instincts, maybe because they were created without reasoning and conscience, without moral beauty and human feelings. With their actions, people felt lost and submerged in the middle of this terrible infernal ocean.

The Timorese are the people who are suffering and their hope is dying, but they know the consolation will come as it did with the Germans and Japanese when they were reduced to ash during the second world war. Timor also hopes to recover but the question is when ? All is in the plan of God; this is how the Lord wanted it to be, in the other way this is how the Lord will recover.

The actual problem that the people in the centre-east are facing at present is extreme misery because of the campaign that is reigning in that region. Men and children are forced to the bush and that prevents them from growing food. People are suffering starvation, sickness, malnutrition and death. It is impossible for a man at war to go without food as it is his first necessity. Without food, even if you have planes, boats, cannons and all the war materials they cannot move because the men are too weak.

How can the people live when in their own houses there is no food and above that they have to take food with them to the bush. In Laga, Quelicai, Seical, Vemasse, Laleia it is the period of the rice and corn harvest. These crops are going to be wasted and be eaten by rats and other animals as there are no men to harvest them. This year and last year the people of Baguia went through terrible starvation because the bapaks prohibited them from harvesting the rice and corn. The crops were destroyed and eaten by animals. This year 1981-82 the starvation is going to be in all the areas mentioned above because people are forced to go into the bush and there is no-one to prepare the land for cultivation. This time will be another extermination of the people.

DOCUMENT No. 4

THE ACTUAL SITUATION IN TIMOR (LACLO AND MANATUTO)

This is a description of my suffering during the months July and August 1981, starting from 13th July until 15th August 1981 in Manatuto and Laclo.

On the first day that I arrived in Manatuto at 4.30 on 13th July, the big shock and sadness was for me to see two civilian men carrying three heads of our brothers from the bush that the people of Fatokona (Laclo) killed by mandate of BAPAS (Indonesian armed forces). Accompanying these two men was an Indonesian army man with a revolver and a knife. They took the heads to bury in the cemetery located 70 to 89 metres from the Manatuto church. The heads were in a bag which was thrown into a hole without covering them with a cloth or anything.

On the 20th August 1981, the Bapas collected half of Manatuto's actual population starting from boys of nine years old to adults of 55 with the exception of women. A lot of the pupils also went to the bush losing time from their studies. These people that went only took with them a little bit of corn that the Bapas had given to them to eat in the bush. For their defence they took with them arrows, swords and spears. They went to Mt. Matabian near to Baucau. After two days there was a message from Baucau saying that the people of Manatuto are suffering as some could not not resist the cold weather and became ill. Others every day ate dry roasted corn because they were prohibited by the army to cook food, so they got diarrhoea and gastric stomachs. Those that got sick were sent back by the army to their own homes to get treatment. When they recovered physically, they had to return to the bush for the operation. All of the orders were given by TRIPIDA (an organisation of Kōramil: in other words, a joint organisation of Kōramil, Kodin, Bupati, Kasidim and Dandim).

In the pre-invasion years, there was a lot of rice. The military starve people to death by collecting all the men and taking them to the bush: in consequence, there were no men to work in the rice fields, that's why most of the rice production was wasted. One of the big families of Manatuto, the Bonaparte family, was killed almost completely. At present only three are left, the mother and two sisters. The father was captured on 10th June 1980 and now nobody knows his whereabouts. The rest of the family was eliminated. One of the brothers died in Fatokona as he was killed by the people of Fatokona. People themselves never wanted to commit such crimes but they were forced by the army to do so: thus they chopped off Diogo Bonaparte's head and brought it to Manatuto.

The actual situation in Laclo is a big tragedy. The biggest tragedy that is happening at the moment is a crisis of killings and starvation.

On 7th July 1981, eight of our brothers came from the bush (the Indonesians called them "Fretilin communists") to Laclo in a region called Fatokona, that is situated about 25 km from the village. The group that came was commanded by Diogo Bonaparte of Manatuto, a brave man in his thirties. When they arrived at Fatokona, they were welcomed by the local people because they did no harm to anyone and they were fed. After the meal Diogo got up and started talking to the people while some of his men stood guard outside. Meanwhile some people went secretly to tell the bapas, but before those people could reach the army camp, the men guarding outside found out. They went inside and told Diogo to get out of the house. As he was about to go, he was met by a sword and was cut on the arm. Others attacked two men who were with Diogo, and killed an 18-year-old boy who was about to come through the door. The last three men were killed and Diogo was able to escape with some of his men. Those who weren't captured didn't react against the people but said: "We came here as brothers and comrades but you treated us like enemies, so your names and the name of your region

Fatokona will now be reported to the central committee."

So they left that place with Diogo wounded on the arm. The people chopped off the heads of the three that died and brought them to the village to present them to the bapas. When they were presented the bapas started to incite the people to shout "Viva" saying: "Viva Aco Wain" (meaning We are brave). So they shouted and those in their houses heard and they all came to join the group shouting "Aco Wain" - from the children to the old.

These were the heads of our brothers from the bush that I saw with my own eyes on that day, the 4th July. After two weeks, our brothers returned from the bush to one region called Fahi Lakor, about 50 km from Laclo. This time ten men came commanded by Diogo Bonaparte, the same commander who had recently come to Fatokona. During two weeks in the bush, his would had healed. When they arrived in that region, the people welcomed and fed them with tapioca and raost corn. After the meal Diogo started to talk. Meanwhile a man called Rukim Tetamiga, chief of that region, secretly told two women to go and tell bapas. He gave the women Indonesian flags and sent them to tell bapas that Fretilin was in the region. When the two women left the house, Diogo's men didn't know about it. Diogo, still talking, repeated his words in Fatokona: "The name of the region will be remembered by the committee, and at present we won't do any harm to anybody because we are waiting for orders. When we get the orders, then we will commence action."

After half an hour Diogo heard a strange noise outside and he immediately asked the people what was going on. They told him it was children making the noise. He stopped talking and realised that the noise was approaching. His men started to call out to him, so he picked up his weapons and ran outside. When he ran out he forgot his spear - he had been carrying a G-3 with ten ammunition belts, one pistol with bullets, two knives and finally a spear. When he jumped outside in about three steps, the Rukim Tetamiga picked up the spear and speared him right through the chest. He fell to the ground. At the same time, the people attacked Diogo's men who were outside and killed two of them with arrows. When the resto of Diogo's men saw their commander and two of their colleagues fall, they started to run away and did not react against the people. At the time of their attack when the bapas were approaching, two of them ran towards the bapas so they were found and killed; the rest got away. Five were killed including Diogo; the bapas ordered the people to decapitate them and take the heads to the village. When they arrived, the bapas incited the people to shout "Aco Wain". After that, they brought the heads to Manatuto for our Dandim to see. When our Dandim and his soldiers saw the heads, they joked - some of them even put cigarettes in the mouths of the dead heads and said: "Smoke. Don't you like cigarettes ?" while others did more jokes. Meanwhile some of the civilian people saw the heads. They recognised that one was of Diogo Bonaparte, so the bapas ordered his mother called. When she arrived she recognised that it was her son's head, but because she was so frightened of the bapas, she denied it was her son.

After this, there was a lot of confusion between the bapas and the people of Fahi-Lakor who had killed Diogo and four of his men. It had been said by Dandim (military supreme chief for each administration) that anyone who killed Diogo was one of the strongest commenaders and warriors in the Laclo zone....

The situation of the people as I see it with my own eyes is that at this moment the people are in a maximum of misery. In mentioning foods - every day we see people carrying 'akar' (food known as sago) up and down the mountains so that it can be prepared for food to eat. So this is the people's basic food. That doesn't mean that people don't have any other food. Before the war, people of Laclo were among those who always worked in the ricefields, the production of rice used to be a major activity. On top of that, they also had plantations such as coconuts, and cornfields. At the moment, almost all of the ricefields and cornfields are incultivable. It is not that people are too lazy, but that they are prohibited by the bapas to go to the fields, or to go to their property to work and grow food for themselves. To prepare the akar takes a long time: in my two week stay in Laclo people pound the akar day and night. It is a continuous and intense work. At night, one hears almost every household pounding the akar. Four or more people pound in one pilao (pestle) depending on its size. This is how they do their daily living, though some go secretly to their field to pick some tapioca or anything the field has. At the present time, the rice fileds close to the village are cultivated by 4% of the people. The other rice fields cannot be cultivated because they are too distant from the village. As well, the bapas have burned most of them because they fear that Fretilin could hide in them. The government hasn't given any help to the people from 1975 to the present. The aid given to the people from 1976 to 1978 was given by C.R.S. as I was told the Indonesian goverment has given nothing to the people. That's why at present people are living in misery. Their houses are built by the people themselves: all the house is covered by palm leaves - it's well done in Timorese style, or it's better to say the style of the people.

About a bed for sleeping - don't think of it ! People have only 'hadak' - this it like a bed with four legs and covered with palapas. Hadak is used to have meals on, to put things on, to sleep on, etc.

People don't even have sufficient clothes to cover themselves. I have seen people wearing the same cloth for a week - when it gets very dirty, they take it to wash but without soap because they don't have money to buy some. Most of them wear torn, dirty clothes.

Children that go to school don't even have a pencil or exercise book to write in. They may get an exercise book and pencil which will have to last for a year. There are no tables in the schools - the children have to sit on the floor and write on the floor. It's very difficult for children who are only just starting primary school. First it's very hard for them to learn writing, and there's nothing to help them.

At this present moment, the serious and most urgent problem for the people of Laclo is medical assistance to the poor and sick. Since C.R.S. withdrew its assistance to those people there have been deaths daily among either children or adults; lately there have been more deaths in men because of lack of medicines and good nutrition. At present there is no medicine to be able to help the people. The mission in Manatuto is the one which is giving medical assistance to these people. They go there (to Laclo) two or three times a month to consult and treat the sick people. The government have done nothing and don't have anything to help the people. During the time I stayed there, I visited all the houses all around the churches. In one I found a woman aged 45 who was suffering cancer of the foot for about three months. Her foot at first swelled up and stayed like this for two months. Then she was visited and got some injections, but they didn't do any good. She hung on like that for three months as the swelling increased. She went back to the mission but the swelling didn't go down - it went completely black, like carbon. As she couldn't resist it any longer she asked some of her family to get some water and wash the feet of Our Lady's statue in it, then sent it to the priest to bless it. After the blessing she told her family: "Every day wash my foot with this water, maybe Our Lady will be compassionate and will cure my foot." In fact, it was true - after w week she felt better. But one day a student nurse came to her house. He had only started work in the pharmacy. He knew the lady's situation so he went there to give her an injection, which he said was to cure the wound. After two days, she began to feel very bad, breathing weakly and running a fever. On Tuesday I was told that she was about to die, but God didn't call her yet. She couldn't eat anything, so she got weaker and weaker, finally dying the following week. In fact, this case and many others show us clearly the size of the suffering and misery which the people of Timor are enduring.

On the 14th August 1981 (Friday) at 9.30 in the morning all men in Laclo went to the bush under orders from their Camat (administrator of the area). This order was given by Tripida. The camat who went with the people was Inacia Fernandes, the brother of Father Fernandes. The bapas ordered the boys from nine years old upwards to old men of 55 into the bush. It was said by Tripida that the operation was for ten days, so people had to take the necessary amount of food. But, up till now (30th August) the people still have not returned from the bush, and certainly the food they took with them was for ten days only - they are believed to be starving in the bush. The foods that they took were roasted corn, ground and mixed with some sugar, and a little bit of rice they got from the market by exchanging with akar. People that went to the bush were unarmed, except the camat who carried a G-3 gun and a pistol. The people only had arrows, swords and spears. There were 600 men. The purpose of the operation was to fight the Fretilin, I was told by one bapak, in the area of Aileu, Remexio, Besi-Lau and Lequidoe. Before their departure, the people and the camat went to the church to pray for protection. In the middle of the week came a notice saying that the camat had fallen off his horse and dislocated his right leg. The place where he fell was near the Aileu-Remexio border. After two days he was brought back to Laclo by helicopter, but he finally had to be taken to Dili for treatment.

These are the sufferings and miseries that the people of Laclo are enduring.

Dili, 30th August 1981.

DOCUMENT No.5

BAUCAU - EXCERPTS FROM A DIARY.

Nearly all day one could see mobilizations of troops, tanks, amphibious vehicles, war planes, military trucks full of people going to war in the bush, training Timorese men to go to the bush to kill their brothers. Above this there was also bombardments of cannons and grenades in the zone of Mata-bian. In the face of these acts of the Javanese one can see that the people always were very sad and frightened.

2nd July 1981: I saw a convoy of trucks coming from Viqueque, full of poor and oppressed people who were destined for exile to the island of Atauro. In the trucks one could see also that there were very old people who could not work anymore and also children and the sick.

7th July: When I was ready to go to Baguia, I saw another convoy of trucks passing in front of the Baucau church. This convoy came from Viqueque and they brought people from Uato-lari, Ossu, Lacluta, and also people of Viqueque, of the zones of Beaco. The trucks were going in the direction of Laga, because it was in Laga that the people were put in boats like animals to be exiled. According to concrete information, those people were exiled without any fault at all. But they were exiled because some still had families in the bush and others because they were suspected.

13th July: When I was returning from Uato-carabou, and passing near Laga I saw a sea of people under trees and old houses, accompanied by Hansips and Indonesians, waiting to be exiled. But as the boat did not come soon, the people would wait there, waiting for the boats in Laga. Many of them caught diseases, famine; they suffered deprivations etc. because they could only receive corn already rotten and full of insects. The sick could not eat because the food was badly prepared, as they cooked only with dry leaves that they found on the ground, because they did not have a licence to take good wood to cook. In that way the majority of them besides catching other diseases also caught diarrhoea.

According to some secret information of theirs, they said that when they left their country such as Viqueque and Lacluta their houses and properties were burnt and destroyed by the Javanese. In that way, if they were to return to their countries there would be no home, land and cultivated fields for their survival.

21st July: In Baucau I saw a woman who was coming from Seical in the car of the Javanese to the market. When they arrived near the market the woman wanted to alight, but because the bapak did not want to stop the car, the woman started to become frightened and - when the car approached the rear of the church - she jumped from it, even though the car was speeding. She fell on the ground, hitting her head and her mouth and nose started to bleed. The car continued on its route; it was only when they heard the bystanders screaming that they stopped and went back to get the woman. She was then taken to the hospital.

16th, 17th & 18th August: In Baucau I saw people coming from the mountains, very sick, weak and starved, being installed under trees and on the verandahs of the shops, waiting for transport, because they were people from Manatuto, Laleia and Vemasse. The fact is that the bapaks have cars to take people to the bush, but on the way back they do not want to bring them back. If anyone is sick and wants to go back by car, they must pay "untuk rokok" (cigarette money) to the Indonesians, or else they have to return on foot. Two people of Lacluba came from Matabian very sick; one died at Fatumaca on the way. The other continued his journey. The one who died on the road was taken by

Father Locatelli in his car, when he was returning from Venilale.

9th August: Since my arrival in Dili, there were no lights, not even on the night of 17th August (Indonesian Independence Day).

B. EPISODES THAT I HEARD OF.

I heard that in Lospalos, families that still have relatives, children in the bush were all exiled as the Viqueque people had been.

21st July 1981: I heard in Baucau that the Javanese in many concelhos of Baucau, such as Quelicai, Baguia, Venilale, forced the people to change their religion. At times they bribed the people to join the religion of Islam by giving them some clothes, food and money. Many people would fall for it. That's why in many postos (villages) though the Catholic religion dominates, there is also the corruption of the Islamic religion. And in Quelicai, I was told, one family joined this religion because they were forced by economic circumstances. But after receiving many things from the bapaks, they gave up Islam. The bapaks became very angry with them. One day a catechist passed by their house and asked: "Why did you give up Islam?" They answered: "Because before, we did not have enough clothes for our survival, so we decided to join the islamic religion. But now we do not have to be islamic as we have enough clothes and food." The catechist was very surprised when he heard out. Things like this do not happen only in Quelicai but also in many other parts of Timor.

July 1981: In Lospalos the Timorese that belonged to Battalion 745 used to hunt for animals to eat when they went into the bush. It happened that one day the battalion commandant (who was a Javanese) became very nervous with some Timorese because they used to kill the animals. He ordered three of the Timorese disarmed and started to rain karate kills on them. One Timorese, Afonso, fell dead to the ground.

Another of the men saw that Afonso was dead and started to run; the other Timorese started to chase him, but the man escaped his death. The dead man, Afonso, was brought to Baucau. Meanwhile the other Timorese who were in Baucau heard the news and became very furious. They set fire to everything that belonged to the commandant, including his house. They also shot at the helicopters that came from Lospalos. The helicopters could not land to take food and other supplies. After seeing these brutal acts, the Javanese commandants resolved to send the men to Bali, saying they were going for training, but this was only a trick. They brought all the men from the 745 battalion to Dili on 9th August and now they are disarmed.

9th July 1981: When I was in Uato-carabau, in Baucau, a bapak killed seven of his colleagues and then killed himself. This Javanese came from the bush very sick. When he was in hospital, he was not well nursed by his colleagues in Baucau. So on the 9th July, he came out of hospital, taking his friend's gun, and also his own, to liquidate all his friends. When he arrived near the church, he started to fire everywhere. His friends who were inside the tent - seven of them died and the others ran away. At the end as he saw there was no one else he killed himself. From then the problem was solved.

17th July 1981: There was a man in the police auxiliary who took a police gun to a house and killed the family and himself. The shots he fired at the women in the house (at 8 pm) could be heard at the parish mission, where we were praying.

It also happened that in Laga, a Timorese man killed his wife and then himself.

In Uato-carabau, I was deeply impressed when I saw that many people prayed

DOCUMENT No.6

Food Situation in East Timor, February 1982

East Timor Church Estimates

I. The food situation differs from one location to another

1. Serious lack of food can be expected in
    - 1.1. Los Palos Region : Luro, Iliomar, Lore (12.750 people).
    - 1.2. Baucau Regency : Baguia, Laga, Venilale, Vemasse (36.000 people)
    - 1.3. Manatuto Regency : Laleia, Soibada (5.000 people)
    - 1.4. Ainaro Regency : Ainaro, Maubisse(31.000 people
2. Food shortage is foreseen in
    - 2.1. Liquica Regency : 29.500 people
    - 2.2. Bobonaro Regency : 62.000 people
    - 2.3. Viqueque Regency : 55.000 people
3. No information available about
    - 3.1. Covalima Regency : Suai
    - 3.2. Ermera Regency
    - 3.3. Aileu Regency

II. The poor harvest (absence of harvest) is caused by a combination of various factors, such as

1. Weather conditions. In many areas rain came one month too late.
2. Insufficient preparation of the fields due to physical weakness of the male population.
3. Rodent plagues.

III. Conclusion

About at least 85.000 people are facing a serious lack of food and about 150.000 people will face food shortage in the near future i.e. all together 235.000 people or almost half of the population.

March, 1982.

DOCUMENT No. 7

SOME FORMS OF VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

The people of East Timor continue to be the victims of violence imposed by the Indonesian government, and the victims of the indifference of other nations, which do not work for a just solution of the legitimate aspirations of the Timorese people. Governments that before used all their influence on the Portuguese government and the United Nations to initiate decolonisation for self-determination and independence of East Timor, today with their vote in the United Nations, they are infavour of oppression and genocide of the people of Timor.

1. The people of Timor during six years have been oppressed and destroyed. The violence has not decreased, they have only changed the methods. AT this moment there is a movement of deportation of big masses of population for the island of Atauro. Men, women and children of various councils (concelhos) of Timor: Los Palos, Baucau, Viqueque, Manatuto, Dili, Ainaro, Same, etc. The motive for this deportation is merely politic; therefore these exiles must be considered "political prisoners". They are deported because they maintain contacts and they support the resistance arms of anti-Indonesia that fight for the independence of Timor, as it was informed the same Indonesian authorities. The simplest fact of being relatives of members of the resistance is a sufficient motive for the deportation. We indicate from secure sources the number that are actually deported: Manatuto - 200 people; Baucau - 1,100 people; Los Palos more than 1,300; Viqueque more than 1,000. Of the other councils (concelhos) we do not know the exact numbers. Meanwhile, we know from secure sources that there are hundreds of people who await their deportation.

2. The forced work of nocturnal vigilance.

In every city, town and 'tribe' (povocoes) of the East Timor territory, the male population of 15-55 years is forced, in turns, on an average group of five men, to remain all night in a state of alert. In each locality there is a number of vigilance posts, according to the size of the population and the extent of locality. This forced work has been continued for six years.

Conditions in which this vigilance is made: Most of these posts are improvised miserable tents. The men are forced to pass the night there, exposed to the weather, malarial insects, subjected to pneumonia, tuberculosis, rheumatism. These men do not receive any payment in money, food, clothing or medicines for this hard and degrading work.

Punishment: If one of these men is found sleeping or is absent, they are punished by fining of other forms of torture such as beating, or being obliged to dive into muddy water full of human excrement.

This tragic situation is exacerbated by ridicule. If one travels to the little villages (povocoes) of Timor, one can observe bizarre metal objects hanging on the guard posts. These objects are struck throughout the night by 'persons in disgrace' who are forced to spend the whole night there. This torture does not only affect those men that are in vigilance, but all the population is subjected all night to these strange sounds. One of the aims is to alert the population and occupation forces against the proximity of the guerrilla elements. The end result is nothing else but torturing and weakening the moral and physical resistance of the Timorese. It often happens that the population is alerted in the early hours of the night and all the eligible men are forced to abandon their houses and present themselves to the nearest military post.

3. The state of health of the population.

During these past two months, the health of the population has deteriorated alarmingly. This was manifested in large numbers of leprosy cases: it started to spread rapidly in Dili and in many little villages, an epidemic manifested by symptoms of vomiting and strong diarrhoea that in a few hours would put the patient in agony and death. This epidemic is killing many hundreds of people, above all children and old people. To combat this epidemic there is no adequate assistance, neither in personnel (doctors, nurses) nor in medicines, nor in admission to hospital, nor in food. And the population, reduced as it is to a more extreme misery, has not the least recourse to payment for medicines or doctors. Whoever has money is always able to buy some medicine or consult a doctor.

The general aspect of the people is sickness, weakness, lack of vitamins: this reality contrasts with the cynical declaration of a group of North American academics which recently visited Timor (6-8 November 1981). According to declarations given to the press by these academics when they left Jakarta (quoted in the Indonesian daily newspaper "Suara Karya" on 10th November): "The general condition of the people is healthy". This declaration was given by Professor Robert A. Scalapino of the University of California.

It is unbelievable that, in the presence of the permanent dangerous conditions of pests and epidemic provoked by innumerable massacres and thousands of abandoned corpses, that Indonesia has not made any form of campaign to vaccinate the population against lifo, cholera, etc. when in the period September to November 1975 the International Red Cross and the Australian Red Cross accomplished three general vaccinations of the population. This is a fact that cannot be denied, the population remembers those times with yearning.

Therefore in the face of evidence of facts, a conclusion is given: Indonesia aims only for the genocide of the people of Timor.

4. Substitution of native population for Indonesian settlers.

It isverified once more that Indonesian nuclear families are occupying the better soils of the country of East Timor. In the concelho of Maliana there are already fifty 'agricultural' families from Indonesia occupying the best soils. According to information from elements who worked with Indonesia, there is a plan of occupying the fertile soils of Iliomar (in the concelho of Los Palos) by 200 nuclear family settlers from Indonesia. It is not necessary to say the spiritual state of the Timorese of revolt and indignation to see their better soils being occupied by foreigners who do not respect and steal soils that the people have known as their property over many centuries and that the Portuguese always respected with laws that protected the property rights of the natives.

5. Violations of property rights.

The soils and the products of the soils such as coffee, sandalwood and other precious woods are simply confiscated and monopolozed by the Indonesian military or Indonesian civilians.

Coffee, one of the fundamental wealths of Timor, is totallymonopolized by the Indonesian military. The people are forced to sell their coffee, at ridiculous prices, in their own district, as transactions are not free, not even for the transportation of a small quantity for domestic use.

The Timorese have a long-standing attachment to the rights of property of their lands, feeling profoundly offended by the arbitrary exploitation of the Indonesian government.

6. Interception and disappearance of correspondence.

The concentration camp regime which the Timorese people are forced to endure impedes the free flow of correspondence, especially letters, both incoming and outgoing. It is true that correspondence is opened and in the majority of cases is made to disappear or it remains in the possession of the political services. For this violation of human rights there is no reason but to conceal from the world the crimes of torture and massacre that the Indonesian army has executed in Timor for six years.

7. Deprivation of fundamental liberties.

The liberty of expression does not exist, nor liberty of association, nor the liberty to teach. They wage war against people who speak, teach or learn the Portuguese language, a tradition in the territory of Portuguese Timor for many centuries. As for the liberty of free movement of the people, take the following example: to travel from Dili to Baucau, a distance of 120 km, it is necessary to get a travel permit - these are controlled by many earnest administrators and military officials. Futhermore, in the course of the journey, the person must call at some eight military control posts.

8. Violation of privacy.

The families live in an environment of total distrust; they feel themselves being kept under constant watch. They are afraid of accusations. Even the more innocent actions are straightaway politicised, such as a simple meeting on the street or a family visit. When people meet on the streets and they wish to talk, they would look first to all sides.

The families are afraid to tune their radio transmitters to overseas broadcasts, especially those of Australia. They also go to the point of confiscating the radios due to this motive. The people are intimidated not to listen to the overseas broadcasts.

Dili, November 1981.

DOCUMENT No.8

SITUATION OF THOSE EXILED TO THE ISLAND OF ATAURO

Conditions: A general impression of sadness, hunger, distrust. Dirty starving children: some go to school, others aged 5-10 years go with their mothers and grandmothers to the fields, or they can be seen at the doors of *Koramil* waiting for some food. There is a group, those called chiefs or responsibles (exiled at the service of *Koramil*) with hard stares and indifferent looks; there is another group, the young people, who maintain certain hopes of life, in the middle of this concentration camp. These youths, who generally have little education and culture, manifest a great sense of humanity and respect for human dignity, and they live a certain ideal.

In general a heavy climate reigns, which some describe with this expression: "This is the luck of the exiles."

Number of exiles: There are around four thousand (4,000). They belong to the following concelhos (*Kabupaten*): Los Palos, Baucau, Viqueque, Manatuto, Dili, Ainaro....The larger number of the exiles are from Los Palos (around 1,300), followed by Baucau and Viqueque. The majority of the exiles (about two-thirds) are women and children - women of every age, a good number between the ages of 60-70 years. The majority of these women are invalids; they are widows and were exiled because their sons maintain the armed resistance against the presence of Indonesia, they fight for the independence of Timor. These women live alone, sitting in a corner of the tents, keeping company with others in the same condition. They starve, having been abandoned by all.

Accomodation: The exiles live in tents. Altogether there are 45 tents; of these 43 are inhabited; all are numbered; 45-70 people (10 to 15 families) live in each tent. Those that can put up *lantens*, that is, rudimentary beds, can still escape from the rain; the others sleep on the humid and muddy ground; when it rains, everything is flooded. Some can put up small tents beside the big ones, however, everything belongs to the numbered tents. All these tents do not offer any habitable conditions; there is no element of hygiene and cleanliness. Everybody cooks outside the tents, outdoors; each family thinks of itself. Some who do not have a family live completely abandoned.

Food: Hunger is general. Everyone is hungry. Some groups of exiles who had been warned of their destination were able to bring some supplies with them - it is off these supplies that they are living. However, the majority had been tricked (lied to): they received orders to present themselves in Dili with promises that it was for three days, for one week or a fortnight. The truth is that some have already been in Atauro more than one-and-a-half years; others for six months or three months, and some more recently - one month. But the exiled still arrive. As for food, they receive one small can of corn per week for each person; these cans of corn have to last for the meals of one week. To mix with the corn, the exiles go in search of leaves, roots and whatever else can be found to eat. The Catholic Mission has helped substantially these exiles, and it can be said that it is due to the Mission that many of these exiles are still alive. Even the Indonesian military themselves are conscious of this help.

Clothing: The general impression is that everyone lacks clothes. The people that were not warned came only with the clothes they were wearing at the moment they were captured and taken to Atauro. Some who brought more clothing are forced to sell or exchange it for food so that they can survive.

Disease: Many diseases occur among the exiles. Lately what has affected the exiles was diarrhoea, caused by lack of obtainable food: the exiles eat what they can find and there is a lack of water. In general, it is notable that everyone lacks vitamins, the children are skeletal, badly fed, and they suffer skin diseases caught since arriving on Atauro.

Deaths: There is an average of two deaths per day; of these deaths, the majority are children and old people. In the month of October alone, thirty-six people died. The spectacle of the funeral of these people is very sad, and the dejection can be imagined.

One case: One old man died. He was a chief (*regulo*). Before dying he asked that his funeral be appropriate for a human being, to be laid in a coffin; asked that after his death a photograph be taken and sent to his families. Before dying he asked to be baptized.

EVIDENCE OF SOME EXILES

A Lady: I am in Atauro with my son. We are living in misery. I declare that many times, in my country, the commandant of Kodim, tried to rape me. However, I prefer death than to go to the low level of such an act. However alive in this misery waiting for charity, I prefer to stay here than be violated.

A young girl who came to help her parents: I am not forced into exile here; I came because I want to accompany my parents in this exile. I am the daughter who has sustained my parents during those years. I have a brother who belongs to the anti-Indonesian resistance army. My parents are old; I thought it was my duty to accompany them here in this exile, and to assist my parents till the last moments.

An exiled young man: If I was to tell what occurred in *Korem* before coming to Atauro, you would believe that God exists. I do not have the courage to relate, as I do not want to remember moments that I passed. I took so many kicks and beatings that there was no part of my body where there was no marks of the torture. They removed all my toe nails: this was a terrible torment. Many times I was tortured with electricity. One captain swore in front of the authorities that he did not harm me in any way; this same captain became more villanous towards me. Now here in Atauro I lead a life similar to other exiles; even if the life is very difficult, it is always better than always being tortured.

One other exile: I have been here in Atauro for about one-and-a-half months. I came from the Comarca prison, where I was for a year and a half. In the prison I was together with a group of fifteen (15) people, in a room where even standing all of us could not fit. In this room there was a small hole where light and air came through. One other hole on the ground was in place of the toilet. One other little hole was for them to pass food through. Of this group of 15, four died of hunger. It was to me a very horrible experience to witnessthe death of these people. Death by hunger is a spectacle that cannot be described.

An eight-year old boy: I am an orphan. I am among the exiles because I have a brother who is fighting against the Indonesians in the mountains.

A lady: I am here with my five children. My husband is imprisoned in Dili. I am here because I have a brother-in-law who belongs to the anti-Indonesian resistance army.

Dili, November 1981.

DOCUMENT No. 9

A REPORT OF RECENT EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

On 2 September an eye-witness reported " Early in the morning many of the people who were forced to accompany the army were at Lacluta. At that time some people from the bush surrendered. All those who surrendered were suffering from a lack of clothing and had been sheltering in caves. They were immediately divided into two groups. The first group consisted of five women who were placed to one side and later taken away by helicopter. The second group, all males, both youth and adults, consisted of twenty people. At the same place they stood, this group of people were shot dead by the marines. Their bodies were covered with dry grass and leaves and the thing was set alight. The people who had been ordered to accompany the army on the forced patrol witnessed this massacre from a hundred meters away where they were standing at the time. They were unable to do anything even to shake their heads was considered most dangerous lest they lose their own lives.

This is one of the large scale massacres that once again was carried out by the marines. Murder on this scale has now become a routine matter in the outlying districts during the six years of the invading army's occupation. The story of this event has been told by numerous sources.

Many incidents have been recorded where the military lit bushfires around places where the people had been concentrated into one area. The fire quickly destroyed everything in its path on the side of the mountains and many people were too weak from insufficient nourishment were incapable of escaping. For the military this was a form of entertainment. This story and others like it have been told by those who were able to escape with great difficulty, and who had subsequently to be treated in the district hospitals.

Large groups of the people who were forced to take part in these most shameful patrols were not given any supply of food by the army. They did give orders to a few appointed leaders of the forced patrol to seek food from the villages of those who were forced to join the patrol. But in the villages there has been continuous severe food shortages during the past five years of the Indonesian invasion. In the meantime, in places that were hidden from view, the women were forced to spend the whole nightcleaning tons of rice intended for distribution, that would be sold in the market by the army on the following day.

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On the 18th September, 1981, people witnessed many civilians who had just returned from the forced patrols looking like nothing more than walking corpses. They appeared to be only skin and bone. They appeared so thin and emaciated that they spread fear and horror among those who saw them passing by. On that day too, there was confirmation of the news that twenty men had been shot at Lakluta. Many people saw a helicopter fly over taking a flame-thrower to the Baucau district from Dili.

Another report stated that one group of the forced patrol has spent the last five days without food and were only able to satisfy their hunger with leaves from the forest and water. Because they were incapable of going on any longer, they organised some of their number to meet the commander and demand food. And what did the Commander reply? He shot his pistol into the air several times. And so without food and without any source of protection from the cold of the mountains, or sleeping facilities, many people have been suffering from fatal diarrhoea. Those who are too sick are left behind. They are left to die by the side of the path. And those who struggle on with great difficulty, finally return to Dili or other districts walking all the way.

In Laga, every day many people can be seen like slaves lined up to be deported from the harbour, going to a place no one knows. It appears that the army is no longer reticent to do this, and they don't appear to be scared to be seen by others doing this. Laga is full of people left in compounds without food or water, to be deported forcefully by the army. Among those, some are happy at least if their family is able to join them in this exile. Most of them, (usually young girls and men) are taken straight from the street or the market place to the point of departure for deportation, taking only what they have on them at the time. Not able to contact their family or return to the home to get the barest necessities.

On the twenty first of September, 1981, about 5.30 pm, hundreds of people to be deported to the place of exile can be seen sitting beside the warehouse in the port of Dili, waiting for their turn of departure. They are lined up like criminals awaiting their sentence of death. In fact many people who up to now have made no protest are openly stating they are presently witnessing the extermination and the total annihilation of the people of East Timor. This effort of total annihilation must have surely come from those in authority.

People no longer believe that the commandos operating in the outlying districts are the ones who pioneered and initiated this annihilation process. Surely there must be a plan from those in authority. A credible source of influence has stated that thousands of people are now being exiled from Uatulari, and Uatucarabau. This process does not only cause the alienation of members of the family but its total disintegration. (ss

south coast district. S of Baucau

Such a plan and strategy seems to be more evil than what the communists might do themselves. At the moment it seems that the army is not content only with the destruction of the upper class of people but also the total annihilation of all the people. They are aware that the people know their dignity as a people and their right to be free. This awareness for the oppressors is clearly seen as a danger.

On 22 September 1981, an eye witness reported, on this morning I have just returned from the port of Dili. This most shameful sight is still to be seen. Thousands of people are ready to be deported to an unknown destiny. They were unable to come close to us or to speak with anyone passing by on the road. There was a wire fence dividing us from them. Most of them apparently have come from Laga, Uatulari, Iliomar, Uatucarabau. They were caught like wild animals. One important person has spoken about this matter to the Governor and he replied that indeed the army should not be permitted to do these evil things, and he himself is quite disgusted with the actions of the army. But he went no further than that. It would seem that he is also one of the people that goes to the provinces to select those for exile. People are so totally unable to find any value in this high point of injustice and moral degradation. Those who carry out these actions in East Timor are only afraid of Fretilin and adverse criticism from foreign countries ready to reveal the evil actions of the army.

There is considerable information that these slaves collected for deportation at the port of Dili, have not left yet because it is expected that there will be many more from the eastern sector.

In 1977 an international figure once stated concerning this regime, they are not hesitant in their intention to commit this genocide of the people of East Timor. The only hesitation they have is that what they do may be known in the international forum and that they are accused of doing these things. It would seem that what that person said then is now being fulfilled in the reality we see around us.

It would seem clear now that there is a program which is being systematically carried out to annihilate the people of Timor, especially anyone who aspires to independence. The operation of this program is done with the legitimisation of religion and the stupidity of the people. All those who have ever aspired for independence must die, even young children, who have done no evil. Old people and illiterate people also appear to be the target of this program. This is the realistic puzzle of the Pol Pot regime. On the other hand, those who instigate this evil plan also wish to influence the children from a very young age to abolish any form of thinking that is related to the nation and people of East Timor. And in this sense, a new importance is given to the new religions and school systems now being introduced. From one High School, it would seem that of the twenty candidates for the school, only four of them are East Timorese, the others come from Atambua in West Timor. It would seem that they so easily obtain priorities and facilities to enter via the back door and take the places in this school.

The 27th Sept. 1981: The number of exiles had now reached 900 people. This problem invited the attention of many people. The Governor once attended a meeting with those who had done this evil action. The Governor himself expressed extreme anger and dissatisfaction. He had long discussions with those who have done this action as they wished to kill the people by sending them to Atauro (to die of hunger).

The perpetuators of this action insisted that there was no hunger or starvation at Atauro because they always sent food there. The Governor said that this was nonsense or at least that the food never reached its destination... (About the starvation at Atuaro there is no one who doubts it, look for example at the letters from those who are exiled and imprisoned there). Once again the Governor strongly requested that the most embarrassing sight at the port of Dili be removed and that the military return home to their place of origin those tens of thousands of people who had been forced into resettlement camps. Apparently the Governor is extremely ingenuous in saying all these things. One can see from a window in a high-rise building how the army uses violence to force the exiles into the small motor boats that take them to Atauro. But do they go to Atauro against the will of the Governor? Against the instruction of the Governor? Are these people going to be thrown into the sea for the fish to eat? It could happen. In Dili people are beginning to wonder whether the army might once again continue their misdeeds with this latest variation.

In front of a building that was once the military headquaters, one can see a wide open space with many hundreds of small stakes in the ground. It appears that these stakes were cut and brought hereby the old men around the city of Dili to make a race course. These old men are the ones too old to partake in the forced military patrol. Almost at death's door, and with no reserve of energy, these old men are still being forced to provide for the entertainment of those who will kill them. At the same time they broadcast television programmes for the people entitled:"Happiness and Freedom".

In the district of Viqueuqe, a thousand people refused to join the forced patrol. They stated that they felt it was another way for the army to kill them. Whatever they were meant to be doing they were even more sure not that they had protested, that it was the army's intention to kill them all. It they are to die they would prefer to die in their own district, they said. In the meantime the military, thirsty for blood, were not prepared to let pass this opportunity to carry out a legitimate massacre of the people. And so they informed the authorities in Dili that the people of Viqueque were in rebellion. The military command in Dili was ready to take action, but the Governor intervened and for the moment at least, has succeeded in postponing the massacre.

Lately, many civilians both adult and children, returned to Dili after their time on forced patrols. Many among them are suffering from sickness and severe wounds. They should have been addmitted to hospital. But there is no longer any more room for them in hospitals. This particular group of unfortunate people have returned from the hills around Lacluta, a place where the Indonesian armed forces have gaain been carrying out mass murders on a large scale. They reported many different atrocities, apart from what they had done on the 2nd September. Apparently many of those on the forced patrol were so shocked that they ran away in a state of confusion and insanity at the sight of what the military were doing to pregnant woman and young children. Pregnant women were stabbed and cut open in the presence of everyone and young children were dashed against the rocks, said these witnesses.

Those who witnessed these uncivilised acts of cruelty were threatened with immediate death if they dared to report to others any of the things that had happened to the women and defenceless children. But the people were unable to restrain this information and ran to report these curelties to the Bishop of Dili. They said that having witnessed such barbaric actions they had lost their fear of death themselves.

On these forced patrols, the army usually placed themselves in the very midst of the people who had no weapons to defend themselves. With the army surrounded by the forced patrol of the Timorese citizens, they approached the stratigic defence centres of the Fretilin and forcing the Fretilin with the dilemma. Either they attack the Indonesian army and kill the Timorese in the process or they surrender and die to save their own people. An eye-witness reported in Dili that people were struck with admiration at the patriotism of the Fretilin. At first, the leaders of Fretilin attempted to send messages requesting the people to separate themselves from the Indonesians. But this was not possible for the people because if they attempted to do it they would be killed by the army, as they had no weapons to defend themselves. And so many of the Fretilin, including Xanana himself decided to lay down their own lives. They preferred death in order to save the people on the forced patrols. Many eye-witnesses reported that the Fretilin did not counter the attack even though they had very good weapons.

One person reported that Xanana ordered his friend to kill him. Another said that retreated to a secluded place and there he killed himself, because he did not want to be captured by the Indonesian army. Xanana's cook captured some time later indicated the place where he killed himself and where he was buried. It was also said that the army decapitated him and brought his head to Dili. No one has ever reported that the Indonesians captured Xanana while he was still living.

These events represent a climax in the faithfulness of the patriotic East Timorese freedom fighters. Their attitude is in strong contrast to the Indonesian army who display only fear and cruelty. The various persons who stand around and watch as the Indonesians exhume the bodies of the patriots and treat them disrespectfully, must bow their heads in honour for the things that they have done. Indeed, many of the patriots of East Timor are decapitated after they are dead and their heads are used shamefully as play things. This sort of behaviour can only lead to their own self deception. Such self deception has become a pattern of the past six years war.

In the meantime the people grow in their opposition, encouraged, too, by the patriots spirit.

The Indonesian leaders on the other hand can only be said to be reaping a harvest of criminals everytime a battalion of Indonesian soldiers returns from East Timor. The instigators of this cruelty are the real destroyers of the Pancasila doctrines. Because in the name of Pancasila and for its legitimisation they carry out these cruel actions in East Timor. In this way the government of Indonesia greets with joy these evil men by bestowing upon them military honours for their evil actions.

The Timorese people however, rise up their own heroes. The hills surrounding the mountain district of Lacluta represent a shrine to commemorate the patriots who died for the love of the people and their faithfulness to them. The mountain district of Lacluta is not the Mount of Gilboe where the people sat and cried. On the contrary, the hills of Lacluta have a dignity and attraction of their own.

According to many credible eye witness accounts, during the months of June to September and especially in recent weeks, the atrocities of the Indonesian army have caused the death of thousands of people, including those who had surrendered. Even women have been killed very slowly by stabbings with sharp knives. Apart from those who have died of hunger, starvation, or illness, or been burnt to death and shot during encounters with the Indonesian army, none of them compare with the evil atrocities that occurred recently in Lakluta...

One trend that has now become apparent, there is no lessening of the spirit of enthusiasm of the Timorese, even though the forced patrols continue to operate, and the special brand of Javanese barbarism surrounding the death of Xanana also continue. On the contrary, everywhere one can feel a renewed spirit and a resolve to resist and struggle for independence. This can be concluded from conversations with the young and the old, with the illiterate and the learned.

On the other hand the attitude of the Indonesian army is so contrary to the demands of humanity that they themselves give rise to their rejection and the feeling of revoltion to them by the Timorese people. Their attitude is clear from many things, for example by the way they show corruption in the use of money, in their devious behaviour and falsification of the facts in order to draw people towards their own annihilation; in their systematic attempts to massacre the people on a large scale (including defenceless children); in their hypocracy in using religion to legitimise what they do, e.g. by demanding that religious leadesr remain silent in the face of injustice and falsehood; in their psychological torture of the people, e.g. by giving rise to terror and physical torture, and rape of women, even those who already have a husband.

30 Sept. 1981: Many groups of people, just skin and bones, arrived in Dili after returning from their forced patrol. Many people returning to Dili from Bacau met these groups walking along the road. Among them they could see young children who were no more than skin and bone. The army declared that they gave plenty of food to these forced patrol. They said there was so much food that each person was able to bring home plenty of food for those who had stayed behind. Oh, what a miserable lot they are. We have pity on them. Such behaviour and words might only invite cynical laughter if the tragedy was not so great that it makes us cry.

The Bishop is now resolved and firm in his attitude towards the army. On the 10 September he was called to Baucau to speak to General Jusuf, Head of the Armed Forces of Indonesia. On this occasion Ali Moertopo and another top Government official was present. Whatever the result of the conversation, the massacre of the people continues with the same sadistic attitude that has been characteristic of the Lacluta incidents. When the Bishop returned, the army asked the Bishop what he spoke about to General Jusuf, and whether he had mentioned recent attrocities that they had committed. When the Bishop replied in the affirmative, the army denied that they had done these things, but the Bishop himself was able to provide them with the exact names of the people involved in these attrocities.

One week later, the army made a special list of people they were watching, and captured a number of Timorese. One of these was killed. At first they did not wish to bury him. But in the end he was officially buried. His burial was presided over by an army chaplain who had not been seen before. At the time of the burial ceremony, the dead man's family protested. "We want to know why our brother was killed?" One of the army, whether the priest himself or one of the assistants, drowned out their protests with continuous prayers that meant nothing to the Timorese, and served as postponing an occasion of heated reaction. One credible source stated that it was the army who killed the man, whose name was Antonio Brites, 33 years, who died leaving his wife and small child.

Surrounding the hills of Santo Antonio, the military had formed a number of strategic posts, consisting of navy, army, red beret and others. Many eye-witnesses said that the Fretilin began to realise that the Timorese people were mixed in together with these armed forces, and so tried to request them to separate themselves from the enemy. They did not wish to have any dealings with the people. Their enemy was the Indonesian armed forces.

Many of those who returned from the forced patrol siad it seems the FRETILIN still possess many dangerous weapons and this discovery caused consternation among the Indonesian army. Those on forced patrol wanted to run away. They were forced to stay with the Indonesian army patrol. The army declared to the people: "You are all going to die, one after another. You will either be killed by us or you will be killed by them". A message was sent by a number of Fretilin groups to the people: "We are fighting for the people and not against the people". "It would seem that many of the Fretilin who died were killed at the time they surrendered because they were not willing to shoot at the Indonesian army knowing that they could not miss their own people. This event has now left a deep and lasting impression on the people that witnessed it. Fretilin prefer to die rather than kill their own people. Those who were forced to accompany the Indonesian military patrol said: "Now we know quite clearly that the Indonesian army intends to annihilate us". There is indeed one incident where the Indonesian forces had surrounded a large group of people and began shooting them, killing many and wounding others. The hill of Santo Antonio has now become a place of psychological victory that is encouraging for Fretilin and also represents a monument to the heroes who have died for the people. The people from all different directions return from these forced patrols with the same conclusion saying, "The Indonesian Military indeed intends to annihilate the people and our whole nation. We have seen with our own eyes now the attrocities towards the people who surrender. All of them are killed including women and small children, however small and young they are..." Pregnant women are not excepted because their stomachs are opened with sharp knives. Their foetus is taken out and destoyed in front of the mother herself. Only then do they turn to murder the mother. We can see that the Fretilin forces do not kill us because they do not wish to and because they would rather die for the people. Amongst the resistance fighters there is humanity and a love for the people. On the contrary from the Indonesian army we receive attrocities and exile and a violation of human dignity."

The real victims of these attrocities, are not the FRETILIN fighters but those who accompany the Fretilin. Many families do not have the mobility to escape. According to the witness of the Indonesian army themselves, 50% of Fretilin fighters are always able to escape. On one occasion among the 8 Fretilin who were fighting, 6 escaped, 2 others were caught and killed immediately. People were warned to say nothing to the District Commander for fear that he would force them to go looking for the other six. But in one area, also in the district of Lakluta, many people witnessed the murder of 400 people, and one other eyewitness said that 20 trucks were needed to take away the bodies, so many there were. One time he said, we were very thirsty, but the Indonesian army would not permit us to go to the river to drink. Indeed, the water fro the river at Lakluta was red in colour and if you did drink it, it tasted like blood. Many people were effected very deeply when they heard of these reports. What they said was, that what has happened last year, is now occurring again this year.

(One incident describes how) Indonesian soldiers took hold of the legs of small children and threw them around in the air a number of times and smashed their heads against a rock. Once there was a woman who asked that one of the children be given to her after the mother had been killed. At that time the soldier permitted the woman to take this small child but a few minutes later be grabbed the child and killed him. The poor woman who asked for the child was not so wise because she too was then killed. There was one other who asked for one of the children to be given to her after the child's mother had been killed. The army person did not wish to hear her pleadings and in front of everyone destroyed the body of this small child who had done no wrong. And then this soldier opened his mouth, showing his teeth with a smile, and said a sentence which we considered to be part of the wisdom of Java. He said "When you clean your field, don't you kill all the snakes, the small and large alike?" The army was always threatening us that if anyone was brave enough to relate these incidents they would surely die.

The military threatened anyone who was willing to tell these stories to others. However, from what was seen and said by the people, there can be only one conclusion. The forced patrols are most shameful and only gave rise to famine illness. Apart from being an act of stupidity on the part of the Indonesian army (it appears that the military has been carrying out these actions with full deliberation). The forced patrols in the mountain areas have failed in this planned oppression. The people grow in their rejection and revoltion towards the army, and the army are beginning to face an oppressed people who are taking to themselves the same spirit and determined struggle of the Fretilin. And the people are beginning to admire the Fretilin because of their integrity, their courage and patriotism and their superior tactics in battle, their truthfulness, their increasing strength, their maturity, and because above all of their humanity. To free themselves, of course, the Fretilin could attack openly and kill the people as well as the enemy. But the Fretilin are unwilling to do this, because they do not wish to shoot the people, but rather are prepared to die for them. All this is an expression that can only be responded to by the people through their tears because they themselves have become prisoners of the Indonesian army. Both they themselves and the Fretilin alike have experienced war for these six years. The people who have been oppressed by the Indonesian military present to Fretilin all of their disappointment and poverty and oppression... After this sort of interchange, the people return to their own districts with even a deeper feeling of revoltion towards the Javanese military who are responsible for these barbaric actions without any awareness of human values. They also bring home a strong impression of the patriotism of the Fretilin fighters. The people return to their homes and families reflecting upon these sentiments: "We die for the people... We do not wish to surrender because we wish to die for the people and for society. The people are the riches of East Timor".

One eye witness stated that in many of the large scale massacres, the military not only refused to bury the dead, they also prevented others from doing so. The bodies were left in the open for anyone to see. The perpetrators of these actions apparently have no fear that their actions will be discovered. They said themselves: "We don't worry about the UN. And other congressmen can be bought".

Although there are many versions about the death of Xanana, no-one says that he was captured by the Indonesian army. The Fretilin fighters still spread the wtory that they will continue the struggle for as long as there is one Javanese military person on their land. The death of Xanana, in fact, will mean a change of leadership and responsibility because before he died he still had the occasion to speak to his friends.

One person of authority stated that a military official had shown him a large packet of documents from Xanana, which has given rise to many rumours. And now it has been announced that the forced patrols will continue... But the Fretilin defences are facing giant battalions of Indonesian soldiers. Those who have escaped death so far are now going to have their turn. The archives are full of the names of those who have to be killed. We ultimately face the madness of the Javanese who wish to compete with the Pol Pot and Nazi regimes.

It has also been stated by eye witnesses, that among those who carry out these atrocities, there are many young people, both boys and girls who appear to be well educated and know the English language...

What causes the Indonesians to now face such a situation is not the Fretilin but their own stupidity and narrow mindedness about the human rights and lack of consciousness of the historical moment that faces every nation in the world today. If for example there are 155 votes for the actions of Indonesia in the UN, nonethless the Timorese people will not accept aggression to their nation from anyone. Now a person might ask, where are the Catholics of Indonesia? What is the role of religion, including the Catholic religion? And what comes to us in Timor has been immediately followed by the servants of the Lord, (with the exception of a few) who play a game of deception in the background. Now we are used to seeing them work in the dark rather than in the light. The people are now demythifying an ideology that presents many pompous promises, an ideology which for them is empty. The Fretilin are not willing to take seriously a pompous ideology, one which is for them nothing more than empty words. Because those who profess to be followers of this ideology only seek after money without any concern for religion much less for the principles of Pancasila.

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DOCUMENT No. 10

REPORT OF THIS SAD BABYLON-CAPTIVITY

1. MASSACRES

a) On the 23rd November, 1978 on the Vadaboro mountain (one of the Matabian ridges situated in the east part of East Timor) about 500 poeple including pregnant women, children of all ages, adults, old men and women were killed by a blast of machine-gun fire. They had come to surrender, believing the propaganda from the Indonesians that they (the Indonesians) only came to help the people of Timor and work for their progress. The same thing happened in Taipo where 300 people died in the same way; similar things happened in almost all parts of Timor, though in smaller numbers.

b) The young single women as well as the married ones were isolated in seperate huts and forced to practice sexual acts with the Javanese soldiers. Very often there was resistance from the women; then they would be stripped and burnt with lighted cigarettes, especially one their breasts and their sexual organs. Many of them could not stand the tortures and hence they would be forced to let their bodies be abused; after being abused they are shot.

c) There are several ways of killing adopted by the Indonesians, such as: shooting, throwing the victim out of a helicopter to the land or the sea, throwing into the sea with rocks attached to the victim's feet, or they take the victims out one night to the outskirts of the city and tell them to run away - they let them go to a certain distance and they they send a blast of shots from the machine guns over the victims.

d) The majority of the young boys and strong menare called together to accompany the soldiers in the hunt for the freedom fighters. Once they are in the middle of the dense bush they are shot. Afterwards the Indonesians would report to their relatives that these poor victims had run away into the mountains. But then, their bodies are found by the relatives or acquaintances who recognise them by their clothes or scars in situations where the bodies are not yet rotten.

e) In Uatolari, a "posto" belonging to the 'concelho' of Viqueque, boys who had a minimum education from grade two upwards were all exterminated. Sometimes these shootings would take place in front of their own relatives, and these same relatives are forbidden to cry or mourn the dead; but very often some of the relatives cannot take any more and therefore start crying and if they are found crying they are also killed. Many children are shot in front of their parents and many husbands in front of their wives.

2. TYPES OF MASSACRES

During my time in the mountains which was from 7th December 1975, the day of the invasion, until 23rd November 1978, the day of my surrender, about 20% of the Timorese population died under the effect of the attack from the sea and the air. About one percent of the population were killed in land attacks: and this includes only the civilian population.

a) About ½% of the national freedom forces died in the battles and under the effect of the bombs; about 1½% surrendered, and about 88% kept on resisting in the mountains until today.

b) During these massacres the Indonesians used all sorts of warlike materials: bombardment air forces, pursuit (hunting) planes such as the OV-10, plus two other types of airplanes just like the ones used by the Americans in the war in Korea, and helicopters with adapted amchine guns.

c) When they attack any zone, in general their air and navy forces work together; sometimes the bombardment is every hour (at one hour intervals); at other times it is non-stop from morning to night and other times it is continuous for days.

d) During the air bombardment they use several types of bombs including the napalm bomb, which is more deadly and burns everything. Their artillery is

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short, medium and long-range.

e) All their warlike materials carry American labels. The majority of the Indonesian closed attacks are made against the places where the population is concentrated. For example at the base of Mt. Matabian they dropped about 600-700 bombs daily during the months of October and November 1978 when the majority of the civilian population were still in the mountains; this does not include the land and navy artillery fire. They had four bombing airplanes, each carrying 16 bombs. These planes bombed eight times every day. They also had eight persuit aircraft (OV-10) plus four other pursuit planes: these last four were much faster than the OV-10. They also had amphibian cars, war tanks, assault cars, etc.

I am only relating the massacres done against the surrendered and the ones still resisting in the mountains to which I was a witness; afterwards I will relate the events that happened after my surrender, that is, from 1978 to 1981.

f) There were married women who they tied together with their husbands; then they would abuse these women in front of their husbands, and afterwards both husband and wife would be shot. Sometimes the women are raped in this way by a number of soldiers (the infidel ones):some die from this treatment without being shot.

g) There were many other women who after being raped were set free, but this only happened with the illiterate ones.

h) All the Timorese villages are completely destroyed from one end of the island to another; not even a hut or a corral had been saved.

i) The survivors of this disastrous war that destroyed the country are at the moment concentrated in the 'postos'.

j) In the months of April and May 1978 till December of the same year, when the enemy made their closed attacks which was called "the siege of extinction", thousands of old people who could not run anymore were burnt alive under their own houses; sometimes for propaganda the Indonesians saved some old people among those who are burnt and immediately the old people are photographed. These photos are reproduced in newspapers and pamphlets, which are dropped in the mountains with the intention of luring the liberation fighters to surrender.

k) The majority of the fighters and the population who were enticed by this trap and therefore surrended, were shot sfterwards.

l) The Indonesians used several lures and trap tactics, among these: the distribution of rice in condensed milk tins, sugar, cigarettes, clothes, etc. These distributions would last only for the days that it would take them to accomplish what they had intended in the first place; afterwards the provisions would cease.

m) In every 'posto' at this moment about 70 to 80 people die every day. Maybe the Indonesians intend to extinguish the Timorese race. With this number of deaths caused by hunger the Indonesians found another way of extinction: they authorise the population that has surrendered to go into the mountains to find something to eat, to satisfy their hunger; when these people come back, they are accused of having got in touch with the fighters, therefore they are all shot.

FROM 1978 UNTIL TODAY

1. PRISONS

There are prisons in nearly all the 'postos' in Timor, but the biggest one is in Dili. In the Indonesian imperialist system, whoever goes to prison is sentenced to death; only a small minority can be saved and they are saved because they pay for their lives with their goods which consist of gold, silver, money or any antique object of value. This happens only with the rich families. The majority of people have to pay with their own death because the Timorese people

Timorese are just like a population truly enslaved and repressed: as such, they have not the least human rights. If there is any trial in court the truth is always with the ones who have money. And as the Timorese people have been exploited, robbed or pillaged they can only accept their sentences being these: death, torture or imprisonment.

In the Indonesian nation, if any criminal has 100 or 200 hundred thousand escudos, they can kill or steal as they like for this amount of money can close the eyes of all the judges, lawyers, police, officers, etc. and they would always be free. For example, if a Timorese is run over by a car driven by an Indonesian, then this Indonesian is not guilty even if the accident is all his fault. Sometimes they pretend to arrest the Indonesian, but after a day or two the police free the Indonesian.

4. HEALTH

Very often all the patients that go to the hospital are not well-treated; other times they are not even given treatments, not even the mutilated Timorese who were forced to go and fight side by side with the Indonesians against their brothers FRETILIN, who are the liberation forces. When there is any international delegation coming then they start clearing the hospital (of people) so that they can close the eyes of the world to this tragic situation. Hence these patients are hidden in the back rooms and when this happens they transform immediately into quiet sheep. At the same time all the war tanks are hidden in the bushes or taken to far-away places, or then covered with leaves. After the delegation leaves, everything returns to what it was before which is: prisons, tortures, massacres, violation of women, exploitation, etc.

Nearly all the patients of the hospitals and wards in Timor are completely abandoned by the state. except the ones with a lot of money: to be a petient here it is necessary to have a lot of money because all the articles used in the hospital must be provided by the patient himself - articles such as bed sheets, clothing, plates, cutlery etc.

Food: Generally they give a bit of dry rice, other times with a bit of juice made from cooked 'canco' (an aquatic plant). The patient is required to wash his/her own won plates; if the patient is very sick then his dirty plates, clothes etc will accumulate until one member of his family comes and washes them for him.

Sometimes the Indonesians pretend to be good and honest in all sorts of jobs especially when a delegation or other representative member is visiting the country. But when these go back, everything returns to what it was before. For this same reason all the Timorese people prefer to go to the parishes' wards and sanitary places, rahter than the state hospitals.

All the state organisations in Timor are just like a curtain to block from the eyes of the world - in reality they are there to work for the exploitation, corruption and extinction of the people of East Timor. This reality might be unknown to the world - everybody thinks that everything is going marvellously in East Timor.

In this Timor there is no one with enough courage to inform the foreign nations' representatives or any other supreme authority such as the Apostolic Nuncio of the real situation in the country. If anybody does have enough courage to do so, he/she is killed as soon as these representatives return to their places.

The privileged minority who at this moment are collaborating with the Indonesian government include the chiefs of government offices, and they are enticed with money, houses, cars. Some of them are already millionaires - they have cars and buildings all at the cost of the exploitation and blood of their own Timorese brothers; others already have many shops opened in carious parts of Timor. These same people have their eyes totally closed by these worldly goods. Nobody can help the people of Timor except the Clergy.

11 [line omitted]

have always been poor people, only a few have gold and silver: even these have been exploited in the beginning of the invasion. Sometimes the Indonesians demand 'one junta' or 'two juntas' which is about one hundred thousand and two hundred thousand escudos.

Often they arrest and kill people for no fundamental reason: is it because the Indonesians are of an assassin race or is it that they want to explore the wealth (materials resources); this way of exploration is called *untuk roko* throughout the whole Indonesian territory. This word *untuk roko* is known and practised by all the social classes in Indonesia. Nearly all the Timorese prisoners are political prisoners.

a) From 1975 to July 1980 nearly all the political prisoners were killed but from July 1980 until today it has been verified that the shootings have lessened due to the presence of the International Red Cross. If these prisoners are visited, they are forced to say that they are not political prisoners but criminal prisoners. The ones that tell the truth would be killed after the visitors had left.

When the Indonesians want to kill any prisoner they generally always do it at night. The place preferred by the Indonesians for this is the lake of Taci-Tola, situated in the west part of the city of Dili. Other times they are put in helicopters and dropped into the sea. The ones destined to die in Taci-Tola are generally transported by a black car belonging to the Intelligence. The black car is named *creta makiki* which in Portuguese means the black eagle car or the assassin car.

b) Exile: Lately the majority of the prisoners are exiled to the island of Atauro but the whereabouts of many others is not known. This exile has been verified from July 1980 onwards. At this moment there are about 600 prisoners on Atauro: men, women and old people; altely they have been making plans to exile all the direct families of the liberation fighters. According to unreliable sources the exiles are sent to three Indonesian islands depending on the following classifications: classes A, B and C. The widows and daughters of the prisoners who have been killed or shot are remarried to Indonesians, not of their own free will but under the threat of death if they do not do so.

2. TORTURES

There are several types of tortures, among them: the red-hot iron, the electric chairs, the lighted cigarette ends, the extraction of nails with pliers, cuts made with blades and finally putting the victim's toes under the feet of the table and loading the table with heavy weights.

When they are actually carrying out these tortures, they have their victims - male or female - standing naked. They burn all parts of the body, expecially the sex organs and the breasts if it is a woman. Even today there are still people with the scars made by these tortures. These tortures are made with the aim of getting information from people about the patriots or then to force them to denounce others who have firm ideas on patriotism.

The tortures take days, months, etc..until they are able to get information; after this these people are either killed, arrested or set free depending on the conditions I have talked about before: paying the *untuk roko*.

The women prisoners are forced at night to have sexual relations with the soldiers in their security posts, but htere were others who preferred to die instead of committing this sin. Among these were the heroic Rosa Bonaparta, Maria Gorete and many others whose names I'm unable to recall just now.

3. SOCIAL JUSTICE

The principle of the Indonesian nation in this Timor is just a curtain. The

Only the clergy have worked, still work and will work for the people of East Timor. They not only did their sacred mission incumbent on them but they also helped the Timorese population in all the other ways. About 70% of the Timorese people including children were able to survive thanks to the clergy or the Church of Timor alone. There are some very courageous clergymen who would face up to the deadly weapons of the Indonesian assassins, begging at the feet of those cruel men to save the lives of the hundreds and thousands of innocents who were already under the barrel of the machine guns ready to be shot. There are others who evacuated to the mountains where they helped the people in their suffering - clergymen such as Father Leoneto, Father Campos, Father Tavares, Father Luis, Father Martins, etc.

With the clergy these are also the heroic fighters of liberation, the FALANTIL, who have been called all sorts of names by the Indonesians, even though they are Christians. The name of Christ our Lord is always in their hearts and they are only fighting for freedom, justice and love. I know all this is true for I have just surrendered a little while ago.

DIVERSION OF THE FOOD AND CLOTHING GIVEN BY INTERNATIONAL AID AGENCIES

1. 70% of the articles given were diverted - why ?

The representatives of the International Red Cross have their office in Dili and rarely go to the zones outside the province.

2. The people in charge of the distribution of food and clothing were Timorese who lived totally at gun point.

3. The international staff trusted the reports of the distributors, reports which said only what the corrupt Indonesians dictated. The Timorese should never say the truth, otherwise they would be shot at night and nobody would ever know their whereabouts.

4. The people themselves should never say anything to the members of the international organisations even if they do not get the quantity they should have, because they will also be threatened with death.

5. The informers or Intel as they call it here exist by the thousands.

6. Whenever the people are questioned about the distribution, they must always say "yes", even if they only received some little tins of food.

7. The diverted products are sold to the population, or exchanged.

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION BY THE INDONESIANS

The more fertile lands in the suburbs of Dili, especially in Becora (east part of Dili) and Comoro (west part of Dili) have nearly all been seized by the Indonesians. They have made a law where all the Timorese have to have a certificate of lease, but they charge about 3,000 to 5,000 rupiahs for each square metre. Since many cannot afford this, they have to let the Indonesians seize their land.

The wood, the 'palapa', the rocks, the sand etc. are all controlled by the Indonesians; the ones that need these things are forced to buy them even if you have these things in your backyard garden. Also if this garden is not leased by you, then you do not have any rights to it. At this moment in Timor , only the indust named Lemo Rai has a right to sell to the people. This industry belongs to the association made up of people of the higher social class.

Coffee: After the war, the coffee producers were seized by the state. Nobody could sell coffee in Dili. All the coffee could only be sold at a minimum price in its local place. The price of a kilogram of coffee could not get one kilogram of rice or corn. This coffee was also monopolised by an industry that belongs to the state government named P.T.Denok This industry in its turn sells the coffee at a very high price; even if the coffee producer lives close to Dili, he gets arrested if he tries to sell his coffee. The ones coming from the mountains (in the interior of Timor), especially from the coffee zones, are checked from head to foot. If somebody is found to carry about 200g or 300 grams of coffee, he gets arrested.

Sandalwood: All the sandalwood in Timor has been dug up and removed by the government. The government monopolises all the material of value. From the exploitation of the Dili market alone, the government profits about one million rupiah daily. Everybody sighs and deplores, but what can we do ?

MORAL OR RELIGIOUS EXPLOITATION

At the moment the islamics are employing all sorts of ways to supress the Catholic religion; for this end the Indonesians are employing several tactics. Some of them are:

- promising a lot of money for the ones who want to convert to Islam;
- distrubuting food and clothing (rice, corn, clothes, money, sugar, milk and soap, etc.

FORCED MOBILIZATION

A new order has been given saying that all the Timorese from 15 years of age to 50 years must go to war against the liberation fighters. These mobilized Timorese are only armed with the 'white weapons' and they are the ones who have to march in front of the Indonesian army, including women and students. Hence, they use Timor's children as a shield in the fight against their own brothers who are fighting for a just cause. With these 'white weapons' armed forces, the Indonesians have also formed militias, one named Hansip, the other Partisans. Even if it is against their will they have to follow orders from whoever. The ones that find the Indonesian trap and therefore refuse to advance to the firing line of the FRETILIN detachment are arrested or threatened with death.

Once in the front line, they are forced to fire at their own brothers. There is no other way but to fire, otherwise they are shot from the back.

Very often, these militia forces or even the Indonesians themselves are captured alive by the liberation guerrillas. These Indonesians are wll treated, they are given food and the fighters explain to them the reasons for their fighting and the resistance from the people of Timor. Afterwards the Indonesians are set free and sent back. Thus many of them that have been captured in 1977 - 1981 were set free. I do not know all their names: the ones I can still remember because I was together with them are the following soldiers of the 8th battalion - Edi, Perdaus, Sugianto, Fernandes, etc, who at this moment are alive and well in their native land - Surabaya, Indonesia.

Others that had been wounded have been well treated; afterwards they are also sent back. The same thing happens all over the province. Now does this sort of behaviour on the part of the liberation guerrillas show any terrorist signs, as the Indonesians keep saying ? The guerrillas never fire at an unarmed man. There have been some civilians killed by stray bullets during a fight between FRETILIN and the Indonesians.

FRETILIN RESISTANCE IS STILL STRONG

Many people think that the fight of the people of Timor has ended; the radio, the newspapers don't seem to talk anymore about the people of East Timor. Despite this, the resistance is still going, the fight will continue until the final victory is achieved - this is the hope of 88% of the Timorese population, the majority of which is right now under the power of the enemy, but deep inside

their hearts they can't wait for their freedom or that they should be liberated from this captivity.

In the month of April 1981, a plane and three helicopters of the Indonesian army were shot down by the FRETILIN fighters. About 80-100 Indonesian soldiers die daily in their fights against the FRETILIN at the moment. The places where there is intensive fighting are the following: Lospalos, Uatolari, Betano, Laclubar, Vemasse, Quelicai, Bobonaro, Bazartete, etc, etc.

DOCUMENT NO. 11

Diocese of Dili
East Timor

Dili: 12 July 1980

To: Bishop Mgr Leo Suka
in Jakarta

No: 01/KD/b.71/1980

Supplementing:

Concerning: A report on the events in Dili,
East Timor in the months of
June-July 1980

With respect,

in this we report several incidents which occurred in Dili, East Timor, in the months of June and July of 1980.

Friday 13/6/1980 : Mr Norberto surrendered himself to the Resort Military Command accompanied by the Bishop of Dili, Mgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, P Ricardo who now holds the position of Vicar General of the Dili Diocese, and the Rector of the Seminary at Norsa Senhora de Fatima, P J Felgueiras SJ. Mgr Martinho strongly requested protection for Mr Norberto from a Resort Military Commander, that he should not be beaten or killed. The Commander accepted his request and promised not to maltreat Mr Norberto.

A few days later Mr Noberto was taken to Dare. There, in a Seminary hall which has been destroyed, the members of the civil defence beat him repeatedly and tortured him until he was near death. P Cardus was able to administer the Last Sacrament to him.

Saturday 21/6/1980 : Mr Norberto was killed and his body thrown into a ravine to the north of the Middle Seminary of N S Fatima.

Wednesday 2/7/1980 : Mr Anastacio was maltreated in the yard of the Dare Seminary. He was tied to a post in the volley-ball field then beaten repeatedly before the eyes of many people. After that he was taken to a place in the Seminary Garden to be killed. There a grave had already been prepared for him, because before the occasion of the maltreatment a few civil defence (personnel) had already ordered people to dig such a hole.

Thursday 3/7/1980 : Mr Jose Manuel Martins (the brother of Anastacio) Mrs Maria Barreto (wife of Jose Manuel Martins) and Mr Agustinho (brother of Maria Barreto) were killed in the Dare Seminary, after undergoing severe torture from several local civil defence (personnel).

Up until now, except for the body of Mr Anastacio, the bodies of these people have not yet been buried, but are still scattered about in the ravine to the north of the building of the Minor Seminary at Nossa Senhara de Fatima, in Dare. Because there is no permission from the authorities nobody has been brave enough to go down and get them to bury them.

After 10 June 1980, many people in Dili were mistreated then stabbed. The bodies of these people have been taken away in two trucks and thrown into one of the ravines not far from the city of Dili, by the side of the Dili-Baucao road.

In the Dili prison cruel torture is often performed. People are beaten repeatedly and are forced to acknowledge or state something which they have not done.

That is all and thank you.

Dili, 12 July 1980
Bishop of Dili, East Timor
(Sgd.) Mgr Martinho da Costa Lopes.

DOCUMENT NO. 12

TWO REACTIONS TO THE VISITS AND PRESS REPORTS OF ICRC AND WHITLAM/HASTINGS IN LATE FEBRUARY, 1982.

1. A letter from a Timorese in Dili.
2. A written response by an informed Indonesian in Jakarta.

(The names of both are withheld).

Date: 8. 3.82

Dear Friend,

Please accept my good wishes before anything else.

With the prospect of recent events becoming yet another proof of the people's hatred of the present situation, may I relate to you certain news.

As you well know from newspaper reports the visits made by members of the ICRC and by two Australians had two objectives :

1. To observe the situation in Timor and to certify/ determine the actual reality.
2, Possessing this information to draw conclusions and pass on a picture of the reality to others through the news.

Unfortunately the truth of the real situation is so bitter that the people themselves are forced not even to admit of their existence.

We will have to leave it to the future. It will be in the future that the truth will be revealed.

What really makes us bitter is that these visitors were only able to obtain a limited opinion as they only stayed in (visited) predetermined districts. And from their limited observation they try to make conclusions that apply to the whole of Timor (formerly Portugese Timor).

It is a very sad reality that we can do nothing against the powerful forces we are experiencing. Being constantly under threat there is nothing we can do but bow our heads in submission, losing our new identity (as an independent nation) and becoming aliens in our own land (to ourselves).

Politics is a dirty and pigish matter because for the sake of politics reality and truth can be changed into unreality and the lies they tell are transformed into the truth.

Politics only favours those who are powerful already.

Our only hope is to leave it for the future to pronounce justice on the reality we now face.

There are some facts I would like to make clear to you before I finish.

Sadly, the truth is that the famine is still a very real fact. It is clearly apparent and it will take a long time to find a solution to overcome it. For those who have no possessions the famine is the companion of the martyr.

Disease and sickness is inevitable. Especially for those who no longer have any possessions. It seems now necessary that we receive it as the inevitable gift of this bitter life of ours.

It is very sad that the world cannot believe that we are experiencing the most cursed luck.

It is also very sad that all those people who want to vist Timor only go to places already prepared for them. And only those who come here belong to the list of pre-selected "special guests" who have vested interst in international neo-colonial politics. Many of these visitors are willing to criticise and discredit Timorese people who speak the real truth about Timor.

It is very sad to continue living like this. It is sad that the truth is being buried. It is even sadder when justice is the domain of only the strong and the powerful. All rights are denied to the weak for it seems they have no rights at all.

With this disordered and untidy letter I hope you, my friend, can understand the reality behind these words and reflect on that reality. And if it is possible please help the truth of our situation to reach other well thinking Timorese that they may also become aware of this new brand of suffering.

Yours sincerely, your friend.

signed (name withheld).

MR. WHITLAM'S STATEMENT REGARDING MSGR. DA COSTA LOPES LETTER TO AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC RELIEF.

I. Mr. Whitlam's Statement.

According to the Indonesian newspapers "Kompas" and "Sinar Harapan" Mr. Gough Whitlam "former Australian Prime Minister" in a press conference, held on March 5th, presented the following views:

1. Based on his personal experience of his recent visit Mr. Whitlam had come to the conclusion that the information spread by the Australian mass media about the critical food situation, the poor health conditions and the unrest in East Timor, were not true. Neither in Dili nor outside Dili he had seen a critical food situation similar to the famine in Biafra. He was told that the supplies of medicine were sufficient and had not noticed any problems in the health sector. All the time he had felt safe.

2. Mr. Whitlam more particularly questioned the contents of the letter, written at the end of 1981 by the Apostolic Administrator, Msgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, which speak of a serious food shortage and the need of US$250,000 to be sent before June 1982. When writing this letter Msgr. da Costa Lopes already knew that the Australian Government had made available one thousand tons of corn as a buffer stock, to be used, if need be, to overcome emergency situations which might develop in one or more villages. He deplored the fact that this letter had embarrassed a part of the Australian people who believed the letter was true.

3. Regarding the Lacluta massacre Mr. Whitlam had found out that Msgr. da Costa Lopes was unable to corroborate his story.

4. As a result of his visit Mr. Whitlam was inclined to believe that all the negative information, circulated by international mass media, originate from the East Timor clergy. He felt that the Church personnel, educated in the Portugese cultural and political tradition, was experiencing an identity crisis, now the Portugese colonial system has come to its end.

II. Annotations.

1. Permits to visit East Timor are very hard to obtain. Practically no foreigners are getting clearance from the army's security. A few exceptions are made, if and when the security officials are convinced that the visitor afterwards will not come forward with critical/negative comments.

   Since Mr. Whitlam in his press conference volunteered the information, that the Indonesian authorities at their own initiative had offered permit to visit East Timor, one may draw the conclusion that Mr. Whitlam's visit was cleverly used by the Indonesian authorities as a means to get favourable publicity:

2. We have strong reasons to believe that the visit was organised by the "Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)". The fact that CSIS was hosting the press conference is one of these reasons. It is a well known fact that CSIS is co-operating with the Ministry of Information and the various security services in an effort to improve Indonesia's international image in regard with the East Timor issue.

3. Apart from Mr. Whitlam's objectivity, one may question his qualification as an observer in the matters of health, food and political unrest. Being a former Prime Minister does not make him an expert in these fields. Since ICRC had been surveying the region a few days earlier, Mr. Whitlam's opinion seems to be not very relevant or even superfluous. The visit was a very short one and, as he told us in his press conference, without a previously arranged flying schedule (not to say haphazard).

4. Mr. Whitlam's comment on the Apostolic Administrator's inability to corroborate his story about the Lacluta massacre (five hundred people killed) is obviously unfair. The Apostolic Administrator has no obligation whatsoever to answer questions, especially if the person who puts the question is unknown to him and if the questions relate to facts that are known by everybody. The Indonesian authorities never denied the massacre but (in private conversations) apologized for the killing of women and children by saying that the shooting took place at night so that the soldiers could not tell apart the Fretelin from the women and children.

5. If we question Mr. Whitlam's objectivity and qualification regarding the food situation and the Lacluta massacre, we firmly object against Mr. Whitlam's allegation that all the adverse publicity about the East Timor issue originates from the local clergy which is suffering from an identity crisis (frustration) as the result of the new political situation.

   Apparently, Mr. Whitlam is trying to please the Indonesian Government by repeating comments he heard from the officials in Dili and the CSIS people. A manof his position should know better that spread "hear say" information. We qualify this part of his statement as highly unfair, unethical and detrimental to the cause of justice.

DOCUMENT NO. 13

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

19.8.1981 A letter from a friend : Timor

.... In parts of Dili classes have begun but in our district (Fatumaca) school has not begun because all the teachers have been sent to the mountains. They are also included in the new 'clearing operation' that is supposed to bring an end to this war. The visit of the Apostolic Nuncio to Dili has at least left a good impression with the clergy. I think D. Martinho Lopes and some other priests will be going to Jakarta soon but I don't know for what.

2.9.1981 Sent from a woman in Timor to her brother.

"Your brother with his family are still in Dili in good health. Father, Aunty and our whole family are still in the mountains. Your brother Thomas and some companions have decided to move away on the 10.8.81 but have not reached the village yet. They intended to head for Betano, and from there they will attempt to reach Lospalos, from Lospalos they will set out for the top of the other mountains.

"There is not one man left in the villages of East Timor now. No matter who they are, whether public servants or district officials or the village leader or the military command, they have all gone to the advance patrol (the front). Even some women have been sent. We are anxious and unhappy because the people are still strongly resisting in the area of Lorosae and all the men from here have now gone for a whole month and have not returned.....

8.3.82 A letter from a member of the family

"... I wanted to tell you, my brother, that Louis had an attack of Cholera on 31.10.81, Saturday night at 1 a.m. We took him to the emergency clinic where he stayed for 2 nights and a day without eating or drinking anything at all... On Monday 2.11.81 they took him to the hospital where he stayed for five days. He was released on 7.11.81 because there was no room for him in the hospital. Even though he could not yet walk he had to come home. Many people sleep on the floor in the hospital. Many of those in hospital are suffering from Cholera because there is no vaccination available. This diarrhoea and vomiting has already killed many people.....

DOCUMENT NO. 14

List of personnel in the Archdiocese of Dili

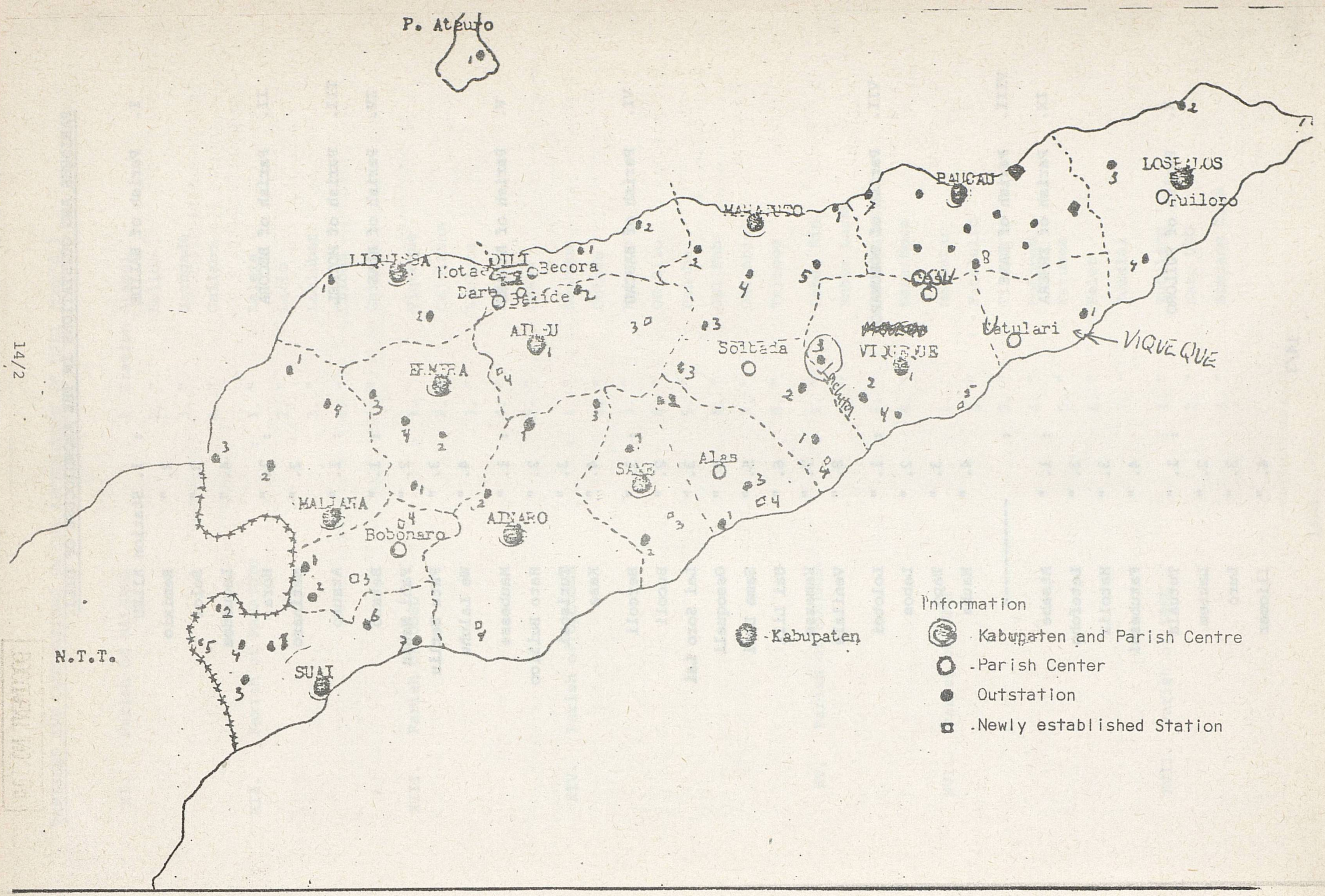
1. Dili

- Apostolic Administrator : Martinho da Costa Lopez
- Two priests teaching in the High School (Antonio / Louis da Costa)
- Two priests managing the schools (E. Nahak, A Maya).
- Three priests in three parishes
- Three nuns from the Charles Borromeo Congregation
- Two nuns from the Reinha Rosari Congregation
- One Spanish sister. 16
- Two Jesuit priests teaching in the Seminary.

2. Dari	one priest and one brother	2
3. Suai	one priest and four sisters	5
4. Maliana	one priest	1
5. Bobonaro	one priest and three sisters	4
6. Ainaro	one priest and four sisters	5
7. Ermera	one priest	1
8. Same	one priest	1
9 Manatuto	one priest	1
10 Liquica	noone	
11 Soibada	one priest	1
12 Baucau	two priests and five Canossian sisters	7
13 Fatumaca	two preists, two brothers and one diacon	5
14 Lospalos	one preist and one brother	2
15 Uatulari	one priest	1
16 Viqueque	no one.	

52

(incl. 22 sisters)


P. Ateuro
LIQUISSA
Motael
DILI
Becora
Dare
Balide
AILEU
ERMERA
MANATUTO
BAUCAU
LOSPALOS
Oruiloro
OSSU
~~VIQUEQUE~~
Uatulari
VIQUEQUE
Soibada
Lacluta
VIQUEQUE
Alas
SAME
AINARO
MALIANA
Bobonaro
SUAI
N.T.T.
-Kabupaten
Information
Kabupaten and Parish Centre
.Parish Center
Outstation
.Newly established Station

PARISHES AND OUTSTATIONS IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DILI.

I.	Parish of BALIDE	:	1. Station	AILEU
			2. "	Remixio
			3. "	Soloi
			4. "	Lequedoe
II.	Parish of BECORA	:	1. "	Hora
			2. "	Metinaro
III.	Parish of MOTAEL	:	1. "	Atauro
IV.	Parish of ALAS	:	1. "	Betano
			2. "	Fahi Nehan
			3. "	Fatu Berliu
			4. "	We Laluhu
V.	Parish of AINARO	:	1. "	Maubesse
			2. "	Hato Builico
			3. "	Turisoai
			4. "	Kasa
VI.	Parish of BAUCAU	:	1. "	Bercoli
			2. "	Bucoli
			3. "	Lai Soro Lai
			4. "	Ossoqueli
			5. "	Sama Lari
			6. "	Uai Lili
			7. "	Vemasse
			8. "	Venilale
VII.	Parish of BOBONARO	:	1. "	Lolotoi
			2. "	Lebos
			3. "	Tapo
			4. "	Hauba
VIII.	Parish of DARE	:	-----------	
IX.	Parish of ERMERA	:	1. "	Atsabe
			2. "	Letefoho
			3. "	Hatolia
			4. "	Fatubessi
X.	Parish of FUILORO	:	1. "	Tutuala
			2. "	Lautem
			3. "	Luro
			4. "	Iliomar

PARISHES AND OUTSTATIONS IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DILI (Con'd.)

XI.	Parish of MALIANA	:	1. Station	Atabai
			2. "	Balibo
			3. "	Batugade
			4. "	Cailaco
XII.	Parish of MANATUTO	:	1. "	Laleia
			2. "	Laclo
			3. "	Laclubar
			4. "	Cribas
			5. "	Cairui
XIII.	Parish of OSSU	:	1. "	Viqueque
			2. "	Cajularan
			3. "	Lacluta
			4. "	Dilor
			5. "	Beasu
XIV.	Parish of OECUSSE	:	1. "	Nunheno
			2. "	Cutete
			3. "	Naimeco
			4. "	OE-Silo
			5. "	Pasabe
			6. "	OEl Fab
			7. "	OEl Abis
			8. "	Teiboco
XV.	Parish of SOIBADA	:	1. "	Fehuc Rin
			2. "	Bubur Laran
			3. "	Fatumaquerec
			4. "	Natarbora
XVI.	Parish of SUAI	:	1. "	Maucatar
			2. "	Fatululic
			3. "	Tilomar
			4. "	Fohorem
			5. "	Fatumea
			6. "	Pelet
			7. "	Zumalai
XVII.	Parish of SAME	:	1. "	Tutuluro
			2. "	Hato UDO
			3. "	Simpang Tiga

PARISHES AND OUTSTATIONS IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DILI (Con'd.)

XVIII. Parish of UATU LARI : 1. Station Uato-Carbai

XIX, Parish of Liquissa : 1. Maubara
2. Bazartete.

Note: An outstation is in fact as large as one whole Parish but because there is no priest resident, it is called an outstation.

DOCUMENT NO. 15

WORKING PAPER ON CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN EAST TIMOR (1981/1983).

1. The new academic year in East Timor, began in July 1981, as in other parts of Indonesia, and will end in June or 1982.

In the beginning of this academic year of 1981, the St Paulus Diocese Foundation, which administers all the Catholic schools in East Timor had the numbers:

	No Schools	Teachers	Students	Vacancies
Nursery	1	3	88	3
Primary School (SD)	66	496	17,612	186
Lower Secondary School (SMP)	9	83	1,375	39
Technical School (ST)	1	8	71	5
Upper Secondary School (SMA)	1	10	91	3
Teacher Training School (SPG)	1	9	33	3
Totals. The year 1981/82	79	609	19,757	239
" " 1980/81	83	516	20,889	-
" " 1979/80	72	451	15,578	-

From these data it can be seen that there has been a decline in student numbers and school numbers compared with 1980/81, but an increase in teacher numbers. This matter can be explained by the growth of state schools and because there are not yet restrictions on student numbers for each class. There are still many classes with one teacher having more than 50 students.

The controls of the year 1981/82 have reduced the number of mission schools and increased the number of teachers. In accordance with the proposals of the Education Dept of the Bishops' Conference as targets each Kabupaten is to have 1 lower Secondary School (SMP) as a maximum, and each Kecamatan 1 Primary school (SD). For the whole East Timor region it is proposed that one Catholic teachers' school (SPG) be established, and one or two Upper Secondary Schools (SMA)

2. Rehabilitation

In this teaching year approximately Rp5,000,000 has been budgeted for each month for rehabilitation needs.

The realisation of this: for the semester 1st July-December 1981 for rehabilitation only Rp17,296,950 has been used, or only Rp2.8million on average.

This matter is caused by the existence of military operations which caused a decline in the workforce everywhere from the month of May to September 1981.

Rehabilitation has been put into operation in several Primary schools (SD) and Lower Secondary Schools (SMP)

Balide, Dili Primary School(s)
Manatuto " "
Letefoho/Same " "
Maubara " "
Maubisse " " and a teachers' house with a storehouse for the Foundation

In these two semesters will also be rehabilitated: 6 Primary Schools (SD) in Zumalai, Lass, Laga, Ossu, and Same, as well as 3 Lower Secondary Schools (SMP) in Suai, Maubisse and Dili. Part of this rehabilitation is completion of prior rehabilitation.

Specifically on the rehabilitation of the Paulus Lower Secondary Schools in Dili, that which is most obvious are the new buildings, now being proceeded with. This Lower Secondary School (SMP) building is used in the afternoons for Upper Secondary School (SMA) and for the Lower Secondary School (SMP) classes itself. The construction of this Lower Secondary School (SMP) is considered important because its administration is already improving and because the Dili Upper Secondary School (SMA) will become the only Catholic Upper Secondary School for the whole of East Timor.

3. The Teaching Staff, Qualifications and Salary

In July last year 1981, a rise in salary for catholic mission teachers was planned, but it had apparently not yet been carried out. Only in January of 1982 this year was this salary rise put into practice.

Thus it is estimated that each month the Foundation must expend about Rp8.5 million just for the salaries of about 450 teachers.

The problems of transferring the mission teaching staff to become public servants have up to now not been settled. The government does not yet want to transfer the primary school (80) mission teachers into the public service,in part because of their qualifications. But for a large section, because of political reasons. Teachers from mission schools will not yet be transferred into the public service if the church (Bishop) does not yet recognise and support integration. So too with the rehabilitation of mission schools, there is almost no government aid, because of the above-mentioned political reasons. Possibly the government is worried that the influence of the Church, which is now very close to the people, will grow greater with the return to life of these Catholic Schools.

The problem of the qualifications of the teaching staff is indeed a continuing problem. Especially for the Lower Secondary Schools (SMP) and the Teacher Training Schools (SPG) as well as the Upper Secondary School (SMA), but also for the Primary Schools (SD). Many teachers now taking classes actually do not yet have the proper authority to teach.

4. Scholarship for the Local Youth

The need for teaching staff in mission schools is very great. In the whole of East Timor there is no school for teacher training which is sufficient for a teacher of higher education.

1981/82 it is clear that the Foundation in the academic year has not yet made use of the scholarship fund for its trainee higher education teachers.

The shortage of skilled staff from the area educated to the university level here in East Timor is very severe. Many important posts in departments are now held by strangers. If this situation is allowed to continue, in the near future, all important positions in this area will fall into the hands of strangers. Thus it is necessary to give greater opportunities for scholarships outside the East Timor region.

In connection with this it is necessary to consider also the regional government policy not to allow the foundation of Upper Secondary Schools (SMA). And it has become public knowledge that it is not possible for anyone to get a significant position in the civil service in Indonesia if he does not have education to the University level.

For that an Upper Secondary School for the entire East Timorese area is a place of preparation which is absolutely necessary for local youth of a quality to enter university.

5. The Lyceum Problem, and Seminary Education

In Balide, Dili, there is still one Lyceum (at the Upper Secondary School level) using Portuguese and with a Portuguese curriculum, which is run by the mission. The seminarists are educated there. This school has repeatedly been called into question by the District office of the Dept of Education and Culture in the area, and it has been proposed that it should change to become an Upper Secondary School following the curriculum current in other Upper Secondary Schools in Indonesia.

This has up till now not happened. Various tensions exist between the administration of the Lyceum and other groups. Difficulties also arise from those seminarians who have already graduated and wish to continue their education in the Philosophy Seminary in Ritaperet, Flores. They do not satisfy the requirements of the state examination, because they do not have the certificate equal to the Upper Secondary School. This matter will become more of a problem in the future.

6. The Provision of Books, Furniture and Other Educational Facilities.

Requests for programs have been conveyed repeatedly to the Foundation. Indeed about Rp2,500,000 has already been spent for text books. Soon textbooks in Science, Mathematics and Social Studies for Primary Schools will be sought. But it seems that it will still take some time for the books to be sent to their destinations. The need is very great while the capacity to provide is still very limited.

In this semester about 400 new desks have been made for primary schools besides a number of desks made in a simpler fashion in the regions themselves. The Foundation has ordered more desks to be prepared for the next teaching year.

In visiting mission schools are still often found to have tables, desks and other furniture made coarsely from round woods of trees and bamboo. Clearly improvement and betterment are needed in the near future.

7. The Paulus Foundation

Recently the Paulus Foundation has been successful in completing the construction of a house for teachers, office space, and storehouses. The erection of a multipurpose house in Bemori is almost complete. With all of these the work capacity of the Foundation can be increased. Desks and building material can be stored separately on the Foundation's land and in its houses.

The multipurpose house in Bemori will be used for informal education as well as for improve ment in social activity and educational activities, amongst others. the health force Pendhaki will undergo a course there for two weeks for the Pendhaki program in the field of community health care (working together with Corumum).

DOCUMENT NO. 16

NOTES ON APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATION
MGR. MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPES TAKEN FROM INTERVIEW MATERIAL.

- Born in Laleia
- Was once a member of parliament in Lisbon during Portuguese occupation time
- Pastor of Ossie district
- Secretary/Diocesan Vicar - General to Bishop Riberu
- First Timorese church leader - Apostolic Administrator.
- Suffering from TBC at present

OUTSTANDING IMPRESSIONS

T says that he is well known in East Timor as the most courageous spokesman for the defence of the people. He is the most outspoken about the facts of what is happening in East Timor today. Even the military agree with the facts of what he says but may challenge him on details or interpretations of the events.

T says he is presently the only one who dares to oppose the military's activity in the public forum.

T describes him as being thought of by the people as "a dear and respectable person" to them.

He is known as one who will defend the people most suppressed by the present military reign.

U. says the people consider him a good man who really has their concerns at heart and is anxious to defend his people to the authorities.

U. says he is the one the army is now most scared of. He is agreeable in disposition and people find him easy to get on with. He makes himself available to the people.

But he does not speak out to everyone. He does not say much and listens a lot. When he speaks in public it is about injustices towards the people. There have been many occasions when his authority has been challenged, when he has been bypassed by relief agencies who declare they are working for the Catholic Church, he has been the subject of slander, isolated by those who might be expected to defend him. But in all this, he has hardly ever spoken out in his own defence. But he is quick to come to the defense of his people, eg, he has recently spoken out most strongly about a series of brutal murders in Dili after 10 June 1980; about the brutal murder of hundreds of women and children in Lakuta and about the military operations in late 1981 that have seriously disrupted the life of the people of East Timor, causing sickness, hunger, psychological terror and innumerable deaths.

Likewise, T says he will seldom write a letter, so when he does put something on paper, it means that what he writes about is of extreme importance to him.

Presently he is seen by many as the one sign of unity left among the people. His own person stands as a source of union and hope. The people are so reduced to submission and apathy by the army that individuals often cannot trust the members of their own family. But they trust intheir Bishop.

U. says, "only he can unite them."
T says, "If he is withdrawn, there will indeed be no more opposition." !

Some Examples

A widow was being mishandled by the military in Dili. She was interrogated, tortured and raped. This happened in 1980. Da Costa Lopes listened to the complaints of the friends and relatives and reported the incident to senior authorities. The senior military officials agreed that these events took place but discredited the Bishop, whose interpretation of why she was mishandled was, in their opinion, wrong.

He has declared on more than one occasion, "I know what happens to the people. The military may disagree but the truth will win. Eventually the truth will be known."

Church officials in Jakarta were once surprised about a request he submitted to rebuild the devastated Cathedral in Dili while the people were starving. It was later discovered that the military had pressured him into making the request for this was, they thought, an appropriate request for him to make. Where eventually, plans were submitted to him, he showed little interest in the details, only saying, "This is what the military wants. This will keep them happy for a while", and placed them to one side. It was then quite clear where his heart lay. (Where his concern for church building lay).

During the audience with the President and all the Indonesian Bishops, Martinho da Costa Lopes used the opportunity to speak out strongly for his people. Bringing his hand down firmly on the table, he attempted to clarify to the President, Suharto, that the reason for the present food, medical and housing crisis is directly related to recent military action, "but you have to see why there will be an even greater food crisis ... it is because of the resettlement programmes and the army's actions (referring to the Pagar Betis operations) that the fields are not being planted." He complained openly of the inhumanity of sending young school age boys to the bush to fight an 'enemy' that are their own relatives, without weapons, without food, adequate shelter and clothing for months on end! (On this occasion the President replied requesting him to help in the security, peace, and order of the people.)

T says few of the other Bishops have this sort of courage. Many of the Bishops on this occasion were embarassed and upset at his outspokenness on such an occasion. Some leading Bishops privately spoke of their approval of his stand. Few, if any, are ready to publically defend him. U. says he is one of the most courageous and yet approachable Bishops he knows.

LIFE STYLE

Martinho da Costa Lopes lives by himself in a very simple house. It hardly has any furniture. Recently some of the walls have been repaired with bamboo thatching because the holes were so big, animals could wander in and out.

He has a small bedroom and a small dining room in which he has his private office and another to receive guests. At the back of the house, there is a kindergarten because other premises are not available. There is one servant to look after his house and the meals - and often he shares the house with either refugees from military harassment or resistance fighters who want to surrender, but are afraid they will be killed like so many of their friends who have surrendered directly to the military authorities.

The Bishop says mass for the people at 5.30am and by 7.30 he is in his office "Camera Ecclesiatica". After 4.00 until sometimes late in the evening, he sits informally with visitors who come to him from near and far, sometimes children, distressed parents, wives, husbands, sometimes Timorese soldiers who are distressed and guilt ridden at what they are forced to do to their own people.

OPPOSITION

It would be untrue to say he has no opposition even among his own priests. He is not a good organiser, so there are often administrative holdups. Some priests seriously disagree with his policy of not advocating support for integration and for exaggerating the present conflict situation by the public condemnation of human rights violations. He is not very 'diplomatic' in the things he says, according to some sources.

One source of conflict arises out of his freedom in regard to financial assistance. He tells private agencies, "If you are willing to come and help us, we will receive you with gratitude, but if not, we will struggle on ourselves as best we can." He does not believe in putting pressure on agencies to help. He has recently insisted that his letter to the ACR was not a request for assistance from his own initiative but in response to the initiative of the Australian Bishops.

Likewise, he does not seem in any hurry to receive the offers of assistance from the Government, another factor that a few of his priests see as against his favour. Others say he is not willing to permit the Indonesian authorities buy his silent aquiescence to the present reign.

OTHER COMMENTS:

C knows Msgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes well. 'He is a brave man who denounces the barbarities in East Timor". He is sure the claims made in the letter to Australian Catholic Relief are substantially true because the Bishop,Martinho da Costa Lopes is close to the latest news from all over Timor and compiles information taken from the clergy and laity.

According to B the Apos. Admin. of Dili has the credibility of the people. He is seen by the people as their Father and they come to him with their problems. Many say he is a strong man.

For example, in June 1981 (?) the Apos. Admin. went to the President with a threefold request for investigation re East Timor.

1. Money from the central government was not getting to the people of East Timor (B. suggests up to 90% of initial allocation disappears along the way).

2. Some infiltration of radical and disruptive groups in the TNI of East Timor who do not have the interests of the people at heart.

3. The present situation of East Timor can be considered a systematic genocide of East Timorese people by the army.

D says the Catholic Church has a special mission in society:- to fight for justice and 'freedom to choose their own way' and to help in daily needs and difficulties.

In criticising the Bishop, Whitlam has gone against the asperations of the East Timorese. The Bishop is the people's spokesman - they consider him as their father and confidant. "The Bishop of East Timor is the only man who can describe the true situation of the people of East Timor. He is the only man who has the trust of the people" says D. The East Timorese do not place their trust in the Provincial government.

C says the Apos. Admin, is unpopular with the Indonesian Bishops because he speaks out. He said MAWI doesn't understand because it doesn't want to accept that the Dili church does not want integration into MAWI or that the East Timorese don't want integration into Indonesia. MAWI urges the Apos. Admin. to promote ecclesiastical and political integration - but it is rejected by the people. The Indonesian bishops want the Dili church to be an agent of integration. "They have never been there and they don't understand the problems."

Papal Nuncio:

C has visited Puente several times. Said when he raises questions about the situation, the Nuncio says 'this is politics - I don't know', or 'this is war - I cannot do anything'. C says he demands complete proof of claims about army behaviour in East Timor. S says he feels he would have to bring the bodies to Jakarta before the Nuncio would believe. "He gives the impression that he trusts the army more than his own clergy", C said. Puente was in Timor in July 1981. C thought he had been more convinced of the claims then. "If he cannot trust the church, how can he trust the people".

DOCUMENT No.25

SOME PRESS COVERAGE OF ICRC AND WHITLAM VISITS TO EAST TIMOR.

Summary of:

ICRC Press Conference on the food situation in East Timor

March 4, 1982 - Jakarta

as reported by "Kompas" and "Sinar Harapan" newspapers

1. Since it is ICRC's function to survey areas where military actions have taken place, it requested and in December 1981 obtained permission of the Indonesian Government to visit East Timor.

2. A special delegation was set up consisting of four people, namely Mr. D. Delapraz, Head of the South East Asian ICRC office in Kuala Lumpur, Dr. C. Neukomm, permanent ICRC representative in Jakarta, Dr. A. Willi and (Portugese speaking) Miss Tisseries from the Geneva ICRC headquarters.

3. The delegation visited East Timor during eleven days, 15 - 26 February. According to Mr. D. Delapraz
   - the delegation enjoyed full freedom to study the medical conditions, the food and water supplies and the hygienic situation,
   - it was permitted to speak directly with everybody it wished without any limit of time,
   - the delegation was given the opportunity to gather information regarding families that at present are disunited.
   - Mr. Delapraz was deeply impressed by the cooperation and assistance of the Indonesian Government.

4. Two members of the group visited six villages in the South West: Luro, Iliomar, Uatulari, Dilor, Matabora and Atambai.
   - February 16-17-18 the delegation visited 3.737 displaced people at Atauro and gathered complete information: names, age, place of origin, family situation.
   - February 19 the delegation met with former Fretelin people that had returned to their families, in Ostico, (how many?
   - February 20 they saw a number of former displaced people that in December 1981 and January 1982 had returned from Atauro to Los Palos (148) and Baucau (128),
   - February 22-24 the delegation went to see 95 prisonners in Dili and donated mats, blankets, sarongs and sport articles (alltogether worth one million rupiah).

5. Finding of the delegation

- One can not speak of a serious shortage of food, let alone famine, all over East Timor.
- The delegation received reports from local officials saying that in the next three months due to poor weather conditions and rodents a critical food situation will develop in a number of villages.
- Particularly in the villages around Los Palos, in Luro and part of the Iliomar area during the three next months food aid will be needed.
- In Batugade, Batukerbau, Bilor and Matorbaro the food situation is excellent, thanks to the irrigation system which function all year long.
- The displaced people at Atauro do not dispose of sufficient land and need food supplies from outside.

6. The delegation will present some recommendations to the Indonesian Government (Ministery of Foreign Affairs - Ministery of Home Affairs and the Army). The delegation will request permission to make another trip in the future to check on the Atauro situation (displaced people) and the implementation of the ICRC recommendations.

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS PRESS CONFERENCE

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jakarta, march 4, reuter -- an international red cross official said today the indonesian authorities had transported some 4,000 inhabitants of the former portuguese colony of east timor to a tiny island in the south banda sea.

regional icrc delegate david delapraz, who has just returned from east timor, told a press conference his team had visited the island, atauro, and carried out interviews among the 806 families there who are officially described as being +temporary displaced+.

the timorese were transported to atauro, 20 miles north of the east timor capital of dili, by the indonesian administration following a military operation late last year against guerrillas of the fretelin independence movement, mr delapraz said.

he declined to comment on the condition of the detainees but said the red cross would tomorrow hand over a confidential report to the indonesian government making various recommendations +and we hope that they will be implemented.+

mr delapraz said the red cross first asked to visit the detainess last october amid reports that large number of persons had been displaced in a three-month military sweep in east timor.

the icrc was concerned by +possible victims among the civil population,+ he said.

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when mr delapraz, at the head of a a four-man icrc team, visited atauro from february 16 to 18, there were 3,737 +temporary displaced+ persons still on the island. the team learened that 276 people had earlier been permited to return to their east timor villages, he said.

the burden placed on atauro's food resources by the detainees was such that the indonesian authorities were having to distribute food to the transported families +and we would like them to continu doing this+. the island had an indigenous population of some 5,000, mr delapraz said.

the delegate siad the red cross had set up a tracing system to transmit news of families transported to atauro to their relatives in east timor. +the fact that we have taken names (of the detainess) is a sort of life insurance for them,+ he added.

jakarta declared east timor a province of indonesia in 1976 following an outbreak of civil war. its annexation, which has not been recognised by the united nations, was followed by fighting between indonesian troops and fretelin guerrillas which has continued intermittently ever since.

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indonesian officials at the press conference said most of the timorese transported to atauro had been taken there for +security reasons+,and some of them were there for their own protection. they were unable to say how long they would remain there but stressed, as mr delapraz was able to confirm, that several groups had already returned to their villages.

red cross officials declined to comment directly on foreign press reports that large number of east timor civilians had been forceably recruited to take part in anti-guerrilla sweeps, resulting in a disruption of agriculture.

but one member of the icrc team, geneva-based medical delegate dr andre willi, said he had been told by east timor military administrators that there would be food shortages in some areas due to lack of rain and depredations by rats.

the red cross believed food buffer stocks should be kept in the province, he added, but it saw no need for the sort of large-scale food and medical relief operation mounted there between october 1979 and last april, on which the icrc spent 12 million us dollars.

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the red cross statement on east timor coincides with a visit to the province by former australian prime minister gough whitlam.

mr whitlam, who made relations with indonesia a central focus of his foreign policy while in power from 1972 to 1975, travelled secretly to dili last saturday and is due to return to jakarta tomorrow.

his visit, like tdacday's press conference, was organised by the indonesian centre for strategic and international studies (csis), a privately-funded research organisation.

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INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS PRESS CONFERENCE
JAKARTA 4 MARCH 1982 (ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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east timor (lisbon, aap note)
nearly 4,000 east timorese diplaced by indonesian military
by ghafur fadyl
associated press writer

jakarta, indonesia (ap) -- nearly 4,000 east timorese lost the homes in a three-month operation launched last october by the indonesian military against the leftist fretilin movement, a top international red cross official claimed thursday.

david delepraz, regional director of the international committ of the red cross (icrc) told reporters that the 3,737 displaced persons had been temporarily resettled on the mountainous island ataure, about 15 kilometers (10 miles) north of east timor.

delapraz said he was allowed to interview most of them, including some prominent ''political prisoners'' during a 15-day tour of the island. he would not comment when asked if they all were members of the fretilin movement, or give details of resettlement conditions.

but informed sources said the movement's former president francisco xavier do amaral and former information minister alaric fernandes were among those arrested during the operation.

''they are now detained on the island of bali where they are safe from many east timorese who wanted to avenge the deaths of their families during the civil war in 1975,'' said one source, wh asked not to be identified.

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jakarta -- east timor 2

indonesia took over east timor, a former portuguese colony, in june 1976 after a bloody civil war between the pro-indonesia faction and the fretilin.

delapraz said the icrc plans to submit a report and issue recommendations on its findings to the government. copies will be distributed to the foreign office and the ministry of defense, he added.

delapraz, noting famine is now a thing of the past in east timor, said conditions were gradually improving. he said his mission also visited a prison in the capital of dili with 95 inmates of whom 1 were being detained on orders from the public prosecutor and 13 others were in police custody. the others were classified as criminals.

''we were a little suprised to find only 13 political detainees,'' he said. ''we were expecting a larger number of this category.'' !

during the visit, the icrc mission distributed 1,500 dollars worth of relief aid including blankets and mats. from september, 1979 to april, 1981, the icrc has spent the equivalent 12 million dollars in such assistance.

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8 MARCH 1982 **THE INDONESIA TIMES**

Gough Whitlam: Reported famine in East Timor completely false

JAKARTA, — Australian former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam just back from a four-day tour of East Timor said here Friday reports about famine in the 27th province of Indonesia were completely false.

After visiting many places in East Timor, he had not seen the least sign offamine or of impending famine, he said.

In a press conference here today, Gough Whitlam further advised that his findings could be checked for their truth with the mission of the International Committee of Red Cross Societies (ICRC) and the United States Catholic Relief Agency operating in East Timor.

The ICRC mission had in an earlier statement here on Thursday inssued the same conclusions.

Whitlam said the reports about the alleged famine had made the rounds in Australia as the result of a letter from the administrator of the East Timor bishopric Msgr Martinho Dacosta Lopes, who asked for a US$ 300.000 aid for emergency food and medical supplies to cope with an alleged impending famine.

The letter also made mention of victims among the civilian population during security operations in East Timor.

Drought.

Gough Whitlam in this connection pointed to the bishopric in Dili as the originator of the false reports.

He further said he also had occasion, while in Dili to talk with Dacosta Lopes, at which meeting Dacosta Lopes said he was now certain that a 1000 ton food reserve planned by the ICRC for the region would be sufficient to face possible food shortage in several places because of drought.

The former Prime Minister also expressed his view that East Timor is noe quited safe, as evident from the fact, he said, that the Red Cross helicopter he was using did not hesitate to fly low over various parts of East Timor.

He said he had been informed that the strength of the Fretilin insurgents now remained at about 100 to 130 with their hide-outs in the jungles.

Speaking about the health of the local community, he said the matter was truly in the good care of the Indonesian government and Red Cross. He said there appeared to be sufficient medical supplies.

Conceding that there is endemic malaria in the region, he said this disease is a world-wide problem which still eluded eradication.

While in East Timor, Whitlam had occasion to visit a number of development projects, including agricultural and fishery centres.

He saw a lot of school buildings government offices and public health centres.

"From the air I could see hundreds of cows from Australia," he added.

Whitlam visited a penitentiary in Dili. Most of the inmates are people convicted criminals.

One thing which, according to Whitlam, is surprising is the maintenance of a culture inherited by the former Portuguese colonial government.

For a nation with the biggest Moslem population in the world, it is tolerant indeed.

"Even names of streets (in Portuguese) are not changed", he added.

Gough Whitlam visited East Timor from Monday to Thursday in the company of Peter Hastings, a seasoned journalist, and Prof. J. Macky.

I.C.R.C.: No Signs of famine.

The International Red Cross Committee (ICRC) mission did not see any signs of famine in East Timor, but there is still anxiety that food shortage will occur in several places in the next three of four months due to unfavourable weather conditions.

Dr. A. Willi, the ICRC medical delegate who had served for one year in East Timor, even stated at a press conference here Thursday afternoon that the food situation in several places was very satisfactory thanks to a well functioning irrigation system during the whole year.

On the possibility of food shortage at several places, D. Delapraz, the ICRC regional delegate from Kuala Lumpur, said that such a situation prevailed not only in East Timor, but also in bordering East Nusa Tenggara.

Such a probality might be caused by unfavourable weather conditions, like a little rainfall, frequent whirl-winds and rat plague, he added.

ICRC was therefore of the opinion that it was not longer necessary to introduce an emergency program for the distribution of food similar to that of two and a half years ago, Delapraz said. "What is necessary at present is to create a bufferstock to face eventual shortage of food ini some areas. Apart from that it is also necessary to consolidate effrots in the field of general health", he added.

The ICRC mission which consists of D. Delapraz (Kuala Lumpur), C. Neukom (Jakarta), Dr. A. Willi (Geneva) and Mis R. Tissieres (Geneva), during 11 days from February 15 through 26, made a tour of Atauru Island, Dilli, Los Palos, Baucau and 14 villages.

Surprise.

At Dilli, Delapraz said, the mission met a "surprise" situation, when visiting "Comarca prison". Originally they thought they would see military prisoners in big numbers, but in reality they only numbered 13. Most of the prisobers were ordinary convicts (71) and the remainder were public prosecutor's detainees (11) awaiting trial.

At Atauru Island, inhabited by 1,579 indigenous people and some 3,737 people from other regions in Indonesia, the ICRC team did not hear any complaints that members of their families or friends were wtill detained, except those in the Dilli prison, Delapraz said.

The ICRC is at present trying to find the permanent addresses of the inhabitants to assist their separated families in Australia, Portugal and other places in order to enable them to correspond.

The ICRC last December assisted in the repartriation of some 1976 foreigners from East Timor to Switzerland, Senegal and Cabo Verde.

In particular for Atauru Island the team was of the view that it was necessary that the government continued food contribution here due to lack of land for cultivation.

The team further had to admit that in carrying out the humanitary operation many difficulties had to be encountered due to the difficult terrain.

The ICRC team further disclosed that in their humanitary tasks they had received full cooperation of the Palang Merah Indonesia (Indonesian Red Cross) and the government. (Antara)

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Transcript of press conference by
Mr Gough Whitlam, 5 March

Held at Centre for Strategic and International
Studies (CSIS) building, Jakarta.

TRANSCRIPT OF A PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE HONOURABLE E.G. WHITLAM, AC, QC, ON FRIDAY 5 MARCH 1982, AT THE CSIS BUILDING, JAKARTA, INDONESIA.

Whitlam: Ladies and Gentlemen, you have been told already that Peter Hastings and I have had the opportunity to visit East Timor. He has been there on several occasions previously. This was my first visit. Even therefore answering questions of yours concerning the situation as it can be seen today compared with the situation as it could be seen in earlier years I can only speak to you about what I saw on this occasion.

Our visit was particularly valuable owing to the good offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross. You had a press conference here yesterday I believe from the four members of the ICRC team at present in Indonesia. The leader, Mr David Delapraz, the Regional Director for South East Asia of the International Committee of the Red Cross stationed in Kuala Lumpur, Dr Armin Willi, a doctor who has worked in many areas for the Red Cross, Mademoiselle Romaine Tissieres, who was included in interpreter/translator for the team, and Mr Cedric Neukomm. Now, we met the four in Bali last Sunday and we had a prior briefing from them of the involvement of the International Red Cross in Indonesia in recent years. You know their activities, their traditional field activities over the last 100 years and more, and I imagine that you have all that information from a day ago from them. So you can see and have from them a description of what they have done, and also what Catholic Relief Services of the United States has done. They did not report of course, but on behalf of Catholic Relief Services of the United States they acknowledge the role that they have been able to play at crucial times in recent years in East Timor.

Then on the Monday Mr Hastings and I flew to Dili with Mr Neukomm and on Tuesday and Wednesday in an ICRC helicopter we were able to fly to mid points in East Timor and to fly over the whole lot. The only limitation on what we could see from the air was cloud, but we were able to see the terrain, the cultivation, the buildings, particularly the main structures, from the air in most places which we were not able to visit. The ones we were able to visit on the Tuesday were Ermera, Suai, Maliana, Atauro, and on the Wednesday Natarbora, Dilor, Los Palos, Luro and back to Dili via Baucau. Now, in each of those places we had quite some time meeting officials and seeing the population, the crops, the schools, hospitals, houses, community places, agricultural projects, fishing projects and communications. We were able to see structures, and we were also able to see hundreds of the population. Then yesterday we flew back to Jakarta and got here about 11.30 last night.

Now, in these opening remarks I think I can most usefully confine myself to what I saw, and to relate that to what in fact has been publicised about East Timor. Now, one of the things which has received most publicity in Australia during the last year was the story emanating from Msgr Martinho Da Costa Lopes, the Apostolic Administrator of the diocese of Dili, that he needed 250,000 Australian dollars (that's about 300,000 US dollars) for this year to avoid the consequences of a massive famine which could take out 100,000 of the population. I do not know how many of you correspondents have seen this report, accordingly I may be saying something with which you are thoroughly familiar, or I may be saying something with which none of you are familiar. But many of you will be aware of these reports that there is likely to be a famine. As I understand it the origin of these reports was a letter which the Msgr sent from Jakarta to the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference when he was an observer at the regional meeting of the Indonesian Catholic Bishops Conference.

That letter was later given to Catholic Relief Services in Australia and to a certain extent publicised in the Australian media. I've got to say that the Administrator's letter was without basis in fact. It is surprising in fact that the Msgr sent this letter abroad. He had been told the facts before he sent it. He made no effort to correct the letter.

The situation is this. That in about the third quarter of last year the Regional Director of the ICRC, Mr Delapraz, was in Australia and negotiated with the Australian Government to make 1000 tonnes of corn with immediate delivery of 500 tonnes of corn to be available in East Timor as a buffer stock. The resident ICRC representative, Mr Neukomm, in one of his regular visits to East Timor, had called on the Msgr, I think in October, and had told him that the ICRC had secured for certain 500 tonnes of corn as buffer stock for the following year and was optimistic of securing 1000 tonnes. He did not tell the Msgr that it was coming from Australia but he told the Msgr that the promise was given. Armed with that information the Msgr went to the conference here and responded to a query from the Australian bishops in the way I have described. The Msgr was also in touch I think with the President of the Republic himself in November last.

One of the matters which in the two hour interview with the Msgr on Monday night that Mr Hastings and I were anxious to ascertain was his view of the situation now. In particular I pointed out to him that when I returned to Australia it is very likely that I would be asked about this imminent famine, on the basis of the contents of his letter. And I said that if the 1000 tonnes will not be enough to offset the effects of any drought or famine, then I should tell the Australian people. But if it were not needed, by the same token, I should also tell the Australian people. So I asked the Msgr with some care what was his assessment now and he used to me the very words "1000 tonnes will be enough". I cannot understand or explain how the Msgr came to send that misleading and cruel letter, or why in a word the Msgr perpetrated this wicked act. The Msgr has distressed hundreds of thousands of Australians who responded generously when the last news came out over 2 years ago about a famine in East Timor and the effect that that had on the health, now and for the future, of so many of the population. And one expects that humane, charitable people in Australia would have responded to his assessment. He perpetrated a wicked act, he misstated the situation. There was not a person we met, private or official, in East Timor who said that there was a famine now or that in any possible circumstances there would not be a situation which could not be cured by the buffer stock soon to be in situ there.

So the first thing I have to say to you is there is not a problem of famine in East Timor now. And the second thing I have to say about that is that with the contribution to the buffer stock provided by the Australian Government, the efficiency of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the cooperation of the Indonesian authorities to see that food is distributed through the province, there will not be a famine. The second thing I want to say to you concerns the health of the population. This is not a matter upon which I have the qualifications to be so dogmatic. But from the comments made in each of the places that we visited outside Dili, and of course in Dili itself, I would be assured that there are enough medicines to cope with any of the health problems which are still likely to arise. There are some areas of the province where malaria would be endemic. I would not know to what extent that can be overcome. It is a very difficult problem. Now, I am making no claims about the stocks of medicines on the basis of what people said to us, the nurses, and in a few cases the doctors who were there, in each of the towns, the villages, we visited. in each case we could see the health services, the medi[illegible]ds etc. Now [illegible]

I would not think, I mean one could not see any marasmic children, or Biafran children as people were describing them 2 or more years ago, or Kampuchean children as people were describing it 3 years or 4 years ago. There did not appear to be people with the great health problems that could be seen at that time. I am not presuming to say what the situation has been in the past. All I can say is from what I could see or from what the Red Cross people, International and Indonesian, have seen in their visits, we were satisfied that the situation as regards health and disease was now in hand.

The next matter I would mention would be the question of security. As I have described to you we went by helicopter to many areas outside Dili and we flew over certainly the whole of the island, not following any particular pre-determined course. We were not avoiding any areas. Our course would be largely determined by cloud and particularly on the second day was overcast in some areas. And we in any case were quite close to the ground. In Vietnam, for instance, when I was travelling there 10 years or more ago by helicopter you would climb to 5000 ft, 1500 metres or so, above the airport before you went across country. You make certain that you were beyond the power of bullets. But in East Timor one doesn't have to do that. One can fly apparently with safety over any part of the country quite close to the ground.

The best estimate that we can possibly give of the number of armed Fretilin would be 100 or at the most 130 people and they would be in some of the mountains in the eastern-most part of the province around Los Palos. Now, there would seem to be no apprehension of inroads being made and there seemed to be no fear of moving around or getting together in any of these areas. From some of the accounts one would think that Dili itself is an armed camp but it is not. It could be seen that people can go about normal affairs in East Timor in safety.

The next thing I would come to is the buildings, the structures that one sees. One can see immediately wherever one goes school buildings. New schools, rehabilitated shools, extended schools (indistinct). There are also very often Government buildings, meeting places, there are extensions of asphalt roads leading out from Dili to the east. To the south-west one can see the construction machines working on the roads. We could not land at every village but just from the corrugated iron roofs you could see these were of recent construction. I would think anybody visiting the area could see that there has been a great deal of construction in the last 4 years. Now, it is not just Dili. At Maliana, for instance, there was an irrigation system installed in the last couple of years I think. It is of course being used to increase production of corn and rice. (indistinct) I think 2500 cows from Australia during the last year or so.

So there has been, apart from the things that one expects in a community like education and health and communications, meeting places, a considerable effort made to augment and improve the diet of the people. These are the things that I could raise with you as what I saw. I would think that anybody would notice the same things. Now, if there are any questions that any of you want to ask me I will be happy to try to answer them. It would help me to know what your names are when you first ask me a question and what papers you represent.

Q.

(indistinct) You say that you had a 2 hour interview with the Apostolic Administrator of Dili, during which you presumably made your points and presumably you described to him what you had seen and heard and yet you tell us that you cannot understand what brought him to write a "wicked and cruel" letter. And yet the only quote you give us from him during the course of your 2 hour interview was that presumably 1000 tonnes was enough. Could you tell us what his response was and some more about what he told you in the face of your questions to him.

A. We met him on the Monday night as I told you before. I confirmed that before he wrote the letter he knew of the arrangements which had been made by the Red Cross with the Australian Government and the Indonesian Government. I confirmed with him that he had received that information from the Red Cross delegate before he went to Jakarta. I confirmed that in Jakarta he had seen the bishops and the President, I got his confirmation that 1000 tonnes will be enough. When you ask which villages he could point out as those likely to be or already stricken by famine he did not know.

Q. What did he tell you then?

A. (answer indistinct)

Q. You refer to Australian press reports on East Timor in the Australian newspapers but I understand, possibly wrongly, that either in his letter or a similar report which has been circulated widely outside there is the allegation that an upcoming famine will not be due solely or even primarily to drought but to the fact that large numbers of civilians, according to these reports, were dragooned by the Indonesian forces into taking part in large scale military operations against Fretilin and thereby were forced to abandon their agricultural activities during the battle period. Now, do you have any comments on that?

A. As I understand it, many crops were planted after the operations to which you are referring.

Q. Why was such an operation necessary if, as you say, there are only 150 Fretilin left?

A. I am only giving you the biggest assessment which we were able to get. 100 or, at the most, 130 armed Fretilin. I have also described where one went and how one went. Nobody has any apprehensions that there would be attacks by Fretilin on people so doing.

Q. (indistinct)

A. I asked the Bishop about comments that he made about killings at Lacluta. He said he has not any proof and he was unable to give us anymore information. You remember he made statements about it in what he described as a homily in the Pro-Cathedral in Dili in which he made certain accusations. But he could not give any information other than the allegations made in the homily so I cannot give you any information from the Bishop other than what he had already said to me and he was not able to give us the sources of his information.

Q. In what capacity are you visiting Timor? How would the findings of your visit be used when you get back to Australia?

A. I had the opportunity to come here, I was viewed as an elder statesman and I took the opportunity. I was told that if I got myself to Indonesia it was likely that the Red Cross would make it possible for me to go around the province by helicopter. So I got myself to Indonesia and the Red Cross got around in the helicopter.

Q. Are you going to write an article, or are you going to appear before the Senate Committe, or are you writing a book?

A. It is quite possible that one or other journal in Australia will ask me to write an article. I probably would accept the invitation. There will be a Senate Committee meeting to consider this matter. I have not been invited to appear before it. If I was invited I would seriously consider the invitation.

Q. . . .

I wonder if you found amongst the people in East Timor as distinct from the Bishop any internalised sense of disenchantment with the situation in East Timor today, particularly in the field of corruption.

A. I was not in a position to make any investigations into corruption, no allegations of that character I think have seen much publicity in Australia. I pursued matters which have really been the subject of publicity in Australia about East Timor in recent months. I do not recall allegations of this character in respect of East Timor. I am wanting to limit myself to what I saw, the opportunities I had to see things and meet people, and to what my conclusions were from seeing these places and people. Anybody we asked to see we were able to see, indlucing people who it is alleged had been detained. We had a couple of talks with other priests, one of them we had a couple of hours with. So our time was quite fully spent in seeing people. I have not brought with me the newspaper cuttings on Timor because I cameat rather short notice, and there has been a considerable amount in recent months in Australia. I saw some before I left. There was a document produced by Paul Condon. It is produced in London. I am not sure what the name of the organisation is, but I was obviously hoping to see Msgr Martinho Da Costa Lopes because this document refers to the statement by him. The authoritative statement is solely from the Msgr. The danger of famin the killing of 500 Timorese the previous summer during a siege at the Shrine of St Anthony of Lacluta. So meeting the Msgr I asked him about all those events. And I have told you the extent of which he was able to assist in elucidating these reports of which he is the source.

Q. . . .

On these reports did you receive any denial from any official, either Timorese or Indonesian, which you met?

A. I certainly made quite a number of enquiries about it. I believe that during the operations in that area there were some people killed. The number of 500 is quite frankly absurd. Nobody would think that was possible, but I would think it was possible that some Indonesian soldiers including Timorese soldiers, came upon some Fretilin soldiers with their guns and that there were some deaths resultant from the crossfire. That is what I would think is right. I can give you nobody who could give a precise account of what might have happened. The mischief which flows from a statement such as the Bishop made in his homily about 500 being killed is considerable. Distress was caused by the exaggeration and the possibility of there being any truth in it. I think there may have been some truth. I think there may have been people killed in crossfire there. But 500 is by everybody's assessment so absurd that people may be inclined to discount the fact that there was any shooting or firing at all. I think there probably was, the extent I do not know. But 500 is absurd, irresponsible and mischievous.

Q. With respect, there seems to be some inconsistency here. You quote figures saying you were informed, and by implication you believe, there were only 100 to 130 armed Fretilin in the mountains. By implication presumably you would not quote these figures if you did not believe them and yet you say that you believe some people may have been killed in crossfire between Fretilin soldiers and Indonesian soldiers. We heard yesterday from the International Red Cross that some 4000 people were being transported to a small island in the South China Sea for security purposes (I do not know whether you asked about this). Thirdly, we have not discussed what appears on paper to have been a fairly large scale military operation involving civilians. So you see there is an inconsistency there between 100 to 130 armed guerillas hiding in the mountains and the scale of the military operations and movement of people who appear to have been involved.

A. You probably got yesterday, I have not seen the transcript of the press conference, from the ICRC the figures about the number of people on Atauro. The numbers that I noted down were 3747 persons in 806 families and they were moved very fast at short notice, some at an hour's notice, to Atauro. They are free to move about on the island. Some have already returned home. The number I had was 157 have gone back to Los Palos and 128 to Baucau. I also am told that it is expected that most of those will go back to their places of residence by June this year. We went through as many of the huts as we wanted to see at Atauro, we saw the families. The Red Cross, in accordance with its practice and skills developed over 100 years now, was able in the course of the last fortnight to list them all, names, residences, religion. The objective I gather of taking people from the villages there, is to break the link between people in the foothills or the mountains and the people in the villages. If these people in this extraordinary broken terrain of Timor can't get supplies from the villages, then they just have to come in. They have got to surrender and that is the objective of moving this quite large number of people to Atauro. But the Red Cross would have told you I guess what has been done about them to supply them with medicine and foodstuffs. I have made notes myself.

Q. The implication of what you have just said is that these 4000 people were assisting Fretilin and therefore the implication is that they supported them.

A. No, there was no such implication. In all rationale there is no implication that they support it. Some might have. There is no implication that most did. I mean, if armed men come upon you they can very often (tape interrupted) . We also visited the Comarca, the prison in Dili itself. We saw people who had been convicted by the courts there, and the other people had been detained presumably on security grounds. We saw all the people of whom the Red Cross had informed us. We were able to see the people and see the accommodation in the prison there. As I understand it, the Red Cross is quite satisfied that it has been able to trace all these people detained in the prison in Dili and relegated to the off-shore island of Atauro. If the Red Cross was not satisfied that it had been able to trace all these people it would have discontinued its operations.

Q. (indistinct)

A. People did not come up and make complaints to us, nor did we go up to people and try to elicit any complaints. I have described what we saw. Now, there can be no question as to the physical appearance of the thousands of people we saw. There can be no doubt about the appearance of the villages which [illegible] saw, and Dili which we walked around quite extensively.

There can be no doubt as to what we were told about the stocks of food and medicines. I was not wanting to be a sleuth into other things. I am describing what and whom we saw, and the conditions of the structures and the land and the people that we saw.

Q. (indistinct)

A. The emergency, the massive operations which the ICRC and the US Catholic Relief Services did no longer apply. They admit that they no longer apply. But the advice that these bodies can give is still of great value and let me just say what the Catholic Relief Services are doing. They are pursuing development assistance there. Yesterday, for instance, I saw the tractors which they had acquired to enable the farming people in the province to be more productive. But, as I understand it, the operation of the ICRC may end in June. They have 6 month engagements with the Indonesian Government and after the middle of this year UNICEF will be there. So I think one can distinguish between the massive relief operations which Catholic Relief Services from the US have carried out in barges around the coast a couple of years ago, and those which the ICRC carried out inland in the villages where the situation was most critical. We were told, and I guess you were told yesterday, the number of villages concerned. You will note from the names and places we visited, that we visited some of those villages. So the massive operations which were certainly needed had succeeded. Their continuing advice is valuable in the fact that there is a system for (indistinct) in the International Committee for the Red Cross and the Indonesian Red Cross in matters like health is obvious and has been available when necessary up to this time. But it is not a massive operation which is now required. The fact that a massive operation was once required does not imply that the people who carried it out must still carry it out. There are other skills which they can make available still. This is a province of Indonesia which is now, per head, receiving the greatest boost in development.

Q. In the same context of what is now needed, was the 1000 tonnes of wheat needed in your assessment?

A. In some circumstances which occur not infrequently in Timor, yes. It is a buffer stock. Timor has an ecology and climatic history which makes it prudent to have buffer stock. It is not a very productive area but knowing that history, knowing the precarious condition of the economy and the production pattern there, it is obviously prudent to have a buffer stock. The ICRC saw that, it put the case to the Australian Government which saw it. The Indonesian Government was cooperating with the ICRC and the Australian Government and the buffer stock was agreed. The fact that you have a buffer stock available does not in any way show there is famine now or that there is risk of famine. What it does show is that even if there is a failure in production there will not be a famine.

Q. All along the presentation of the facts that you have been giving just now you have been very careful to state that you can only speak for what you saw, for what you witnessed and what you were told. And yet in a couple of instances you have made what I would consider the definitive comment to the effect that the Msgr is a liar or a maniac or worse. You infer that it is totally unreasonable to assume that 500 people were killed at the monument that the Msgr refers to despite the fact that you say you cannot get anyone to give you a figure. You said definitively without quoting anyone you said definitively it is unreasonable for 500 people to have died. On what do you base these conclusions if you said you can only speak for what you personally saw in East Timor.

A. The person who made the allegations of 500, the Msgr, we met, we interrogated. He could not substantiate the figure. He said he had never been there, he said there was no priest there. He could quote no more. This did not surprise me, I suppose I would have to confess, because I had already learnt that the villages which he had previously quoted as being in the grip of famine obviously were not. So it is possible that the Msgr believed that his findings can be best discharged by exaggeration of wars. Now, 500 people getting killed in any spot in that terrain is a very large enterprise, and nobody else is prepared to suggest that 500 people were killed there. Now, why should we assume there were 500 in what would be a very difficult area to muster the number of people who would produce in any circumstances 500 fatalities. Why should we assume it if the person who makes the allegations cannot justify it. In other cases when he has made allegations one finds that there is no basis for those allegations. So if one asserts it was 500 surely the person who is the origin of this story should do something to justify it. Nobody has been prepared to do so. There is no proof of it, for instance there is no monument there.

Q. Isn't it also quite reasonable that neither can one assume that 500 people were not killed and state it definitively on the basis of the fact that the accuser wasn't able to prove definitively that 500 people were killed? You have said definitively that 500 people were not killed.

A. Everybody else we mentioned it to, and there was a considerable number, thought that the allegation was absurd. If you saw this general terrain you would surely believe that it would be a very large battle to produce 500 fatalities. This would be a very large conflict. In recent years how many military engagements have there been in the world which produce 500 fatalities? Let's be sensible about this.

Q. Did you speak to the Msgr after your visit to the province?

A. No.

Q. So it was impossible to go back to him with questions about his reports based on what you had seen.

A. There was no need to. He confirmed the fact that before he came to Jakarta he made it public. He had been told by the Red Cross delegate while in Dili that there would be 500 and hopefully 1000 tonnes of corn available. He confirmed that he got this letter in Jakarta while observing the Indonesian episcopal conference, that he had the letter from the Australian episcopal conference. He confirmed that he had seen the President and he agreed that 1000 tonnes of corn will be enough. Now, are you suggesting that I go back after he had admitted all those things and ask him if he still admitted them? And I asked him about Lacluta and also of course which villages were stricken with famine and he could not cite them. I asked him about Lacluta, and he could not quote any source or the nature of any source. He had not been there.

Q. Did you ask him in the light of the seriousness of the allegations, and the publicity they have received that if none of his accusations seemed to pan out in your opinion you may have checked back to him. I was just asking you if you did find out if there was some explanation of the fact.

I would like to shift if possible to Peter Hastings and ask him if he believes that the Msgr was as completely off, deliberately or otherwise, in his assessment of the situation in East Timor as the allegations would seem to imply.

(Mr Peter Hastings)
I attended the interview right through and I noticed several things. One was a statement that hundreds had died through ill-treatment on Atauro. Now, there was a certain core of truth. Hundreds had died last year from a form of gasto-enteritis, caused primarily by malnutrition obtained in areas from which they had come which inevitably lowered resistance. I think the Red Cross doctor, Dr Will, certified this. That is a very different situation from the one we described. Now, on Lacluta, we did get one quite free assessment from an Indonesian source that in that exchange 80 people died. There was a surprise attack on a Fretilin group, families and supporters by a company of Hansip. There was an exchange of small arms and rifles in which 80 might have died, 60 to 80, and several women who had also been there of course as part of the family. So I am only quoting what I have been told. Most people we asked about that particular incident thought that the Bishop was exaggerating and one of his own priests, not to be named, not engaged and properly so in the altercation over his own Bishop for whom he had an affection, nevertheless thought of him as a man who exaggerated, who was by the nature of his breeding, upbringing and his education totally nostalgic for Portugal, and so with the disappearance of the Portuguese, the abolition of his own language, culture, social values he felt the need like many of them do to (indistinct). I hesitate to ascribe (indistinct) to him but I suspect because when he first wrote (indistinct). By the same token I am not saying he was not concerned for his flock, but it was said over and over again by many people, and it is on record by European observers, not just Indonesian observers, that he was not very diligent about the facts which he mentioned.

A lot of the seriousness of the whole situation and the allegations that have been made it seems to me that we may be able to get from either of you two gentlemen more about your two hour conversation with the Msgr because as Mr Griffiths pointed out originally, we still have very little to substantiate anything except that the Msgr quoted you 1000 tonnes would be enough. And I just personally am finding it incredibly difficult to come to terms with the apparent ill-motives of this Msgr.

(Mr Whitlam)
There are other people that you can ask about this. I presume at the press conference with the ICRC yesterday you asked about the buffer stock. I presume you asked them about that, and I presume that they would have told you when the arrangements were made and they would have told you that in their view the buffer stock was enough to meet contingencies. I presume that that is the case. You could also ask Catholic Relief Services, which is under the US Catholic Conference, and ask them what they think about the prospect of famine in Timor. There are two other organisations that have been here for 2 or 3 years. The ICRC and the Catholic Relief Services - ask them what they think about the prospect of famine. Ask them whether they still confirm in any respect what the the Msgr said. As I understand it the villages which the Msgr has cited are in fact not subject to famine. Furthermore, the buffer stock is believed to be adequate to meet contingencies. Now, I have told you what the Msgr told us and I believe that what he said is not well balanced. I have not used any of the terms that Mr Kanguno has asked me presumably to endorse. I do not respond to his use of any of those words. I have used words, and I will stick by them, but we are not the only persons on whom you have to rely for an assessment of the prospects of famine. There are priests from Dili who go through Jakarta from time to time. Some of them are on Portuguese passports and go for leave to Goa, to Portugal or maybe Macau. You could ask them. The fact is, I believe that you

cannot find famine anywhere to support the Administrator's outburst to the Australian bishops last November. You can check up presumably with Indonesian bishops and find what their assessment is. You can check up with priests in East Timor. You mention motives. This has clearly worried me. Why is it that all the negative stories which one reads about East Timor and the Indonesian Government or Army or whatever it is in respect to East Timor, they are all likely to be attributed to church sources. Now, this is happening so constantly that I am driven to a conclusion that most of these stories do in fact come from priests in East Timor and higher. It worries me why this should be the case and I am not unaware of the fact that many people will take umbrage at the fact that I, a separated brother, may be doubting what a person holding office for many years in the Catholic Church may have said. Now, there may be - there are - in Australia, different views among Catholics on this report of famine. There are maybe differences of view between Catholic Relief Services in the United States, which has been very active and effective in Timor, and Catholic Relief Services in Australia, which is a component of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid.

I believe the explanations Mr Hastings has given about the remaining Portuguese influence in East Timor is correct. A great number of the clergy were educated in a Portuguese land. They were the heirs to a full range of Portuguese culture. In such a situation there is a crisis of identity for such persons and it is a matter of complexity and distress I assume to the Msgr and to many of the priests. I would think that from now on the populace in their schools and the worshippers in their churches will find decreasing value and roles for the Portuguese language and the Portuguese tradition. Now, one does not have to disparage the Portuguese language or traditions to say that. All one is saying is that all other aspects of that language and tradition in the form of men and women on the ground have departed. The church remains, but I think it also should be pointed out that the Indonesian Government has taken as far as I can see no steps whatever to suppress the Portuguese view. Indonesia is the most populous Islamic country in the world. At the same time there is no Islamic nation that is more tolerant of other religions. There are more Catholics for instance in Indonesia than there are in Australia, and Timor Timur is one, not the only one, of the Indonesian provinces which has a majority of Christians. There is only the smallest handful of Muslims in East Timor. There are various conclusions as to the number of Catholics there. According to the figures the Bishop gave, the Catholics there have prospered since liberation. There would be more than almost half the population, according to the Bishop, that are now Catholics. And the Indonesian Government has done nothing to limit the observance of the Catholic religion or the proselytisation by priests and catechists. We met several priests and a catechist. We saw several churches. We saw some dispensaries and so on conducted by the Catholic Church. In Dili itself, where there are new street signs throughout the town, there are, as far as I can see, the Portuguese names still there in front of the old headquarters. There is the monument erected in 1960 for the 5th centenary of the death of Henry the Navigator, and one of the neighbouring streets still bears the name Jalan Infante Don Enrico. There is another street there, Jalan Martyres dal Patria, Martyrs of the Fatherland. Throughout the town and up on the roads into the hills one can see various jalans, jalan-jalan, with a Portuguese name after it. So, as I understand it, Indonesia, somewhat exceptionally for a community which states religious principles among the founding and basic principles of the community, is tolerant to faiths other than Islam. You can see it in Dili, and you can see it in these villages of Indonesia. I would think there is a church we saw and usually visited in every one of the places I have mentioned. And certainly the Pro-Cathedral is a large place, and another church on the road to (indistinct), the Immaculate Conception Church.

And in each case we spoke to the priest. So it would be quite wrong to suggest that all the clergy in East Timor are prone to exaggerate. But some are, and worry about this fact. What I have said I think is a feasible and generous explanation.

Q. [illegible]

I have understood from some people that the Indonesian Government was not intending to build up buffer stocks. You said that the buffer stock will be supplied. If there has been any difference, has it been reconciled about building up the buffer stock of corn?

A. Well, I do not know of any differences there. All I can say is what the Red Cross has told me, what the Msgr has agreed that the Red Cross told him and what the Australian Foreign Minister announced. Also I saw the storehouses in Dili which were said to be available for it, and there is one very large new storehouse there and there are a couple next to it which looked in very good condition. It is in a relatively new part of the town on the way to the original airport, which is now the helicopter airport.

Q. You are not aware of any movement against stockpiling the buffer stock?

A. I'm not aware of it. The Australian Foreign Minister made a statement about this some time ago. I forget the exact date. I remember that there was some suggestion or fear that this announcement might be thought to be a reaction to the Bishop's letter which had received publicity in Australia. Now, I will have to check to see if I am correct there. I just mention it to you so you can check up yourself. But the arrangements were made by Mr Delapraz and the Foreign Affairs Department in Canberra months ago. I forget exactly what month it was but you probably were told this yesterday. As I understand it Mr Delapraz was in Melbourne as far back as 20 June last year. As I understand it, on 20 June 1981 (this is the note I took, I will be looking at the transcription of yesterday's conference and I do not know if this was mentioned there), on 20 June last year Mr Delapraz in Melbourne got the undertaking of 500 and then later, maybe as late as October, the delegate in East Timor thought that it would be prudent to increase that to 1000. And the Australian Government did that. I am not a supporter of the Australian Government (well, I won't criticise the Government of my country if I can avoid it when I am outside the country), but on the issue of East Timor I do not find anything to criticise on what the Australian Foreign Minister and the Department of Foreign Affairs have done. What we have said and what we have done in East Timor has my support.

Q.

You say you are an elder statesman. Could you please tell us why you came to Timor and why at this particular time and also who you saw today.

A. Describing myself as an elder statesman is partly... as a matter of fact I was hoping for good humour in the circumstances, I don't think we always have to be lugubrious on these occasions. I hope I have not upset anybody by assuming that factual description. I would hope that any Australian who had been interested in public affairs, as I have been, or who has had a long experience on reporting them, particularly in our region as Mr Hastings has had for a quarter of a century, if any such person got the opportunity to visit East Timor that he take the opportunity. That is what I did. Now, there has been a very great deal said about East Timor in the Australian media. If I had the opportunity to go and see for myself, I thought, well, I will take the 5 days off required to do it and that is what I have done.

Q. Were you invited by CSIS to do this?

A. I did not speak to them directly, and I knew they were making arrangements. I did not speak to the Red Cross directly but when I got here I met them. So I don't know how all the arrangements were made. I was led to believe that if I got myself to Indonesia from Australia that there would probably be the opportunity for me to go around East Timor by helicopter so I got myself from Australia to here. I got the plane from Darwin to Jakarta.

You asked me whom I saw today. At 7.30 I had breakfast at the Mandarin Hotel with Mr Yusuf Wanandi and Mr Hari Tjan. At 9.00 I met General Panggabean and at 10.30 I met the Apostolic Pro-Nuncio. At lunch I was the guest of Mr Soedarmono, the Secretary-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Now I am meeting the lady and gentlemen of the international press. Tonight I am being received by the President. So those are the people I met today and will be meeting today.

Q. What did the Pro-Nuncio have to say about the Vatican representative's report?

A. What he told me I will not disclose.

Q. Can you tell us whether or not he was aware of the Apostolic Administrator's letter?

A. The Australian Ambassador and I were received by the Pro-Nuncio. I think we had 1 1/2 hours with him, at least an hour, but I am not going to indicate the subjects that either of us raised or the response that either of us got. I won't, for instance, when I meet the President, will I? Or Mr Panggabean. If I have private conversations, the results of them appear in due course in comments I make myself, but I will not individualise the sources.

Q. It seems to me that Mr Whitlam is somewhat willing to tell us what the Apostolic Administrator in Dili said. I thought perhaps you might be willing to tell us what the response from the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta was.

A. No I am not. There is no mystery about that. I do not believe that anybody, having been received by a diplomat or a representative of another state, the Vatican State, or the head of state in a country will disclose the subjects discussed. I am not in any way embarrassed on the question but I am certain that nobody who is in the position of having such opportunities will detail the conversation.

Q. Can you tell me if the visit is at your instigation or the instigation of the Indonesian Government?

A. Well, the only Indonesian I spoke to in the whole time was Mr Purnomo of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra, and I spoke to him twice. I think once was about 3 or 4 weeks ago and another time I think was Wednesday of last week.

Q. Did he then convey the invitation to you or did you go to see him on your instigation to be invited?

A. No. I do not think that Mr Purnomo and I have met. We might have, but these were telephone conversations. I think he in Canberra and I in Sydney. So that is the situation.

Q. Who extended the invitation to you to make this trip?

A. The message was relayed to me that if I got here I would [illegible] probability be able to go to East Timor and that the ICRC [illegible] would take me around.

Q. If your report of what you have seen in Timor is published in Australia then what segment of the truth which is a negative opinion of Indonesia on the Timor issue will be influenced? Is there any proof which would change their minds?

A. I do not think that it is ever a disadvantage to learn the facts about any situation. I have had the opportunity. I wish more Australians had the opportunity, but I was one that did have the opportunity presented to him and took the opportunity, of seeing the country and I have limited myself to what I have seen and whom I have seen.

DOCUMENT NO. 26

CONVERSATION WITH A

A works for Indonesian Council of Churches (DGI).

1. Origins of Program

- Said originally it was difficult for MAWI to become involved in East Timor but it was easy for DGI to gain entry because there were many Protestants in the army. DGI invited MAWI to conduct a joint emergency program to begin March 1980.

- It was decided to set up a local committee -- Lembaga Karya Kasih Daerah (LKKD) with representatives from Catholics and Protestants. It had difficulty in getting official recognition from the local government.

- (June 1980). Lalisang, Pooroe and Simatupang went to Dili -- received the okay from the military commander to operate there. Help and protection of the military was offered.

SLOW BEGINNINGS:

- It was decided to begin workshops in Dili and Baucau on agricultural techniques and carpentry. It became apparent however that Baucau was not secure (personnel would travel there by CRS helicopter) so activities were concentrated in Dili.

- In Dili, they found the people afraid and suspicious of the program (because of its association with the army). There was virtually no progress for 12 months.

- Concentrated on building a school in Dili. Slowly began to gain recognition but key person, Sister Lucie, has been withdrawn. (A. believes MAWI sought from Benny Murdani a refusal to extend her permit to stay in Timor.)

- Pagar Betis: In mid-1980, program was about to start in Baucau but the new Indonesian offensive started so they returned to Dili.

- New personnel: Sr. Lucie has been replaced by a Fr. Pandoyo -- who has a different approach. A. says he is too concerned with religious aims which are not in harmony with the overall project.
  Example: He ordered Karya Kasih to print a book for Catholic Church activities. Pruwoyo, an army chaplain (Protestant) was opposed to this on the grounds that KK money was for development. There are moves to have Pruwoyo removed.

2. FUNDING: The original project was budgetted at Rp 240 million Most of this comes from National churches via World Council of Churches. The only bilateral funding comes from a West German agency.

An unspecified amount of money has been received in Jakarta for the program but A. says that it is often held up. He said this was a general problem in DGI with a lot of specified money actually being used for general DGI operating expenses. (He blames Nababan for this --"who wants all power"). A. gave the example of a request that Rp 5 million be sent to Dili for ongoing costs. He checked 2 weeks later and nothing had been done.

MAWI has never contributed funds to the project.

3. 1982 PROGRAM

Dili - will develop sewing and literacy projects in Dili:

Baucau - Womens centre for sewing etc. will also develop a small demonstration agricultural plot in Baucau;

Lospalos - The army has invited KK to initiate technical training and sanitation programmes there.

A. said DGI will not provide additional staff for the project, so personnel for the new work will have to be drawn from people now in Dili.

4. FOOD SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

a.) WHITLAM: A. said he was shocked at the claims of Whitlam. He was suspicious of the trip because it seemed so well planned. He said "anyone knows that even West Timorese or Indonesians cannot easily get permission to enter East Timor and if they get it - it takes a long time".

b.) His assessment: DGI has just received a letter from the KK representative in Dili which said most of the Rp 5 million send in December 1981 had been used for emergency aid. This was despite specifications that only 10 - 20% of it should be used for that purpose.

A DGI survey in Dili(and surrounding villages) and Baucau found there was serious malnution among children. A nutrition program was proposed.

Expressed anger and frustration at the language of newspaper reports because they suggested there was no need for help -- "which is not the case." He believes that there is still starvation in East Timor.

Says that if there is a crop failure in East Timor, it will be disastrous for the people because they have not been able to stock up reserves.

5. OTHER IMPRESSIONS OF EAST TIMOR

The Church: The Karya Kasih is run seperately from the Dili Church. The Dili Church is suspicious of motives and honesty of DGI pastors. The Dili clergy are not willing to accept the current situation. They are very honest -- they tell the truth and don't believe the propaganda which says things are better now than they were in Portuguese times.

The MILITARY:

- believes that the military want KK to do well because it will get a good name from the success of the project.
- believes the army has ulterior motives in its involvement in East Timor.
- still restricts movement of people and goods in the territory.
  a) DGI wanted to move a nutritionist into East Timor but they were refused permission;

b) Tablets in health programs can only be distributed to patients on day-by-day basis because army does not want them being passed on the the resistance.
c) Up until a few months ago , people were not permitted to carry more than 5 kg of rice with them out of Dili .
d) It is very difficult to get permission to go outside of Dili. When there last year, he was restricted to a 2 km radius from Dili.

Government Programs - believes that for political motives, the G.O.I. is investing money -- only in the major towns. He says the government is not helping the villagers.

BAKIN -- while in Dili, he commented on all the shop frontages with company names, P.T. etc. etc. The servant from the house he was staying in told him they were just "fronts" for intelligence offices.

Indonesian Attitudes: He says that the most successful achievement of Indonesia's new order government is the destruction of the critical spirit of the Indonesian people. Many Indonesians are indifferent to Timor.

Interview with B. 4 March 1982.

B. is Indonesian. He has been a public supporter of Indonesian moves to takeover East Timor.

Source of information about recent events:

B. spoke to 3 Bupatis from East Timor during the past two days. The Bupatis from all over Indonesia are now gathered at the Hotel Indonesia for a briefing on the elections on 4 May 1982. "I have had contact on more than one occasion with them. I also receive letters from friends in East Timor and I still have some relatives there who send me information."

1. HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

a. General impression from his remarks was that in many places the stock of available food is very low, and the prospect of crops is not good. "Many people are dying", he reported the Bupatis said. The people are also badly in need of medicines and clothes are in short supply. He emphasised that the Bupatis he met said the situation was presently 'very bad'.

b. The Bupatis at the same time could not say anything public about this in Indonesia because they would be severely punished. B suggested they write a letter to the President and they said they could not even do that, they are forced to remain completely silent about this.

2. HUMAN CONTACT AND RIGHT TO FREE COMMUNICATION

a. East Timor can be considered a closed state. People from Kupang and other parts of West Timor cannot go to East Timor without special permissions for limited conditions. Even more so, people from other parts of Indonesia have to be subject to scrutiny if they wish to go to East Timor - permission has to be obtained from Hankam.

b. Students who are sent to other parts of Indonesia, eg, Java and Jakarta, are told to say absolutely nothing about the situation in East Timor. They are warned to keep quiet.

c. People leaving East Timor have to receive special permission and it is difficult to get it.

d. There is constant pressure on local officials by the military to say nothing to government officials in Jakarta about the situation of East Timor. B said people had told him that the military has said: "If you talk to General Jusuf you will be shot and we will say it was FRETILIN. (General Jusuf is supreme commander of armed forces). B referred to the incident of the letter to the President from the 3 members of the Peoples Representative Council (DPR) (written in June 1981, made public overseas in late Oct/Nov 1981). General Jusuf did not receive his copy until December 1981. B suspects that the information was held up by General Benny Murdani.

e. It is thought that all information from East Timor to Jakarta officials must pass through General Benny Murdani.

3. MILITARY OPERATIONS AND RESISTANCE

a. B.. believes there is evidence to suggest that it is the deliberate policy of some people - 10-15 key people - to keep East Timor in a troubled situation which would ensure the continued necessity of military occupation and domination. For example:-

- people have reported that the Indonesian army is providing food and weapons to the remaining Fretilin
- certain military officials, eg, Dading, have never been recalled even though it is commonly known that they are doing a bad job. They are much more permanent than similar ranking officials
- these people are the ones in the strategic logistic positions.

The people he is referring to are staff of General Benny Murdani, says B.

b. There is no doubt that these men are reaping considerable financial gain from their presence in East Timor, but in addition, B. believes there must be other motivations.

c. B. interprets this situation with the conjecture that 20% of the military of East Timor have been infiltrated by Russian sympathisers. He continues that it is to the interest of pro-communist forces to keep East Timor in a troubled situation (requiring constant military presence and being constantly in a state of internal turmoil).

d. Resistance: B. thinks the Fretilin and other East Timorese people continue their resistance up to now. The reason he gives is they have had such a bad experience under the Indonesian occupation which is worse than during the Portuguese colonial period that they do not want anything more to do with the Indonesians. If there was a true referendum, B. believes most people would vote against integration with Indonesia.

Most people would want a free independent country, said B.

4. REPORT ON CHURCH

a. The Bishop, Apos. Admin. of Dili has the credibility of the people. He is seen by the people as their Father and they come to him with their problems. Many say he is a strong man.

b. For example, in June 1981(?) the Ap. Admin. went to the President with a threefold request for investigation re East Timor.

1. Money from the central government was not getting to the people of East Timor (B. suggests up to 90% of initial allocation disappears along the way).
2. Some infiltration of radical and disruptive groups in the TNI of East Timor who do not have the interests of the people at heart.
3. The present situation of East Timor can be considered a systematic genocide of East Timorese people by the army.

INTERVIEW WITH C . 6/3/82

C. is East Timorese.

1. AID

a. Commercialisation: C believes ICRC aid is probably manipulated and commercialised. He did not give an example specifically on ICRC - but related his observation of events at Lahane, near Dare in July 1981. He visited there with an Indonesian colleague . A large group of people are living on a river across from Lahane at the foot of a mountain (note Lahane is just outside Dili). They were forced to move there from their villages in the hills behind Dili by the army. Their original villages were then destroyed. This action, said C, was to prevent Fretilin infiltration so close to Dili. They had to build poor houses from materials gathered by themselves.

Women from this "settlement" were called, (while he was there), by the army to clean rice. He was told by the Timorese administrative official for the area that the rice would be sold to Chinese shops for sale to the population. The official also said that the rice was originally sent to Timor by the government for free distribution to the people.

2. ABUSE OF POPULATION

a. Operasi Keamanan: C talked of many men aged 10-55 being obliged to go to the mountains "to fight Fretilin". He said some of these people were killed; others were left dying in the hills.

b. Sexual abuse: C, said he had heard stories and seen written reports of events such as: death of women after multiple rapes; the raping of women and daughters tied to male members of the family; enforced sexual intercourse between male and female prisoners while soldiers look "and make fun of them". In this context, C. said he himself saw treatment of some male prisoners. They were forced "to do ridiculous things" by the army. C was told by villagers at Lahane that soldiers would come to their houses in the evening - take food, coffee and any bangles/jewellery and oblige young women to spend the night with them.

c. Atrocities: C. has heard, and believes, stories of the killing of babies by hitting their heads against rocks; of pregnant women being cut with knives or other sharp instruments.

3. THE CHURCH

a. Apostolic Admin: C knows him well. Says he is a brave man who denounces the barbarities in East Timor. He is sure the Bishop's claims in the published letter are true. He compiles information from the clergy and laity.

b. Other Clergy: \Some are "collaborating" with the army./ East Timorese know this but they cannot voice their opinion on it. As a whole, the church rejects integration. C. gave us a copy of a statement of East Timor clergy delivered to an Indonesian Religious Superiors conference on 18 September 1981. C says the church is the strongest representative of the East Timorese people. Neither the civil government or the military have "the trust of the people".

c. Indonesian Bishops (MAWI):

- C. says the Ap. Admin. is unpopular with the Indonesian Bishops because he speaks out. He said MAWI doesn't understand because it doesn't want to accept that the Dili church does not want integration into MAWI or that the East Timorese don't want integration into Indonesia. MAWI urges the Ap. Admin. to promote ecclesiastical and political integration - but it is rejected by the people. The Indonesian bishops want the Dili church to be an agent of integration. "They have never been there and they don't understand the problems."

- He feels the Catholic church in Indonesia sees the East Timorese church as primitive. "They criticise us without knowing anything of our history or the background from which we come."

d. Vatican: C. had heard the report of Mochtar's claim about changed Vatican policy on Indonesian T.V. He was unable to say whether it was true or not (he asked us!). "If the Pope prays for Poland and Islamic countries, why not Timor", he said. He considered writing to the Pope to advise him of the situation. He felt the Vatican was probably getting a "distorted vision" of East Timor through the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta. The church in Timor is very isolated - "it doesn't have the support of Indonesian organisations or from the universal church."

e. Papal Nuncio: C. has visited Puente several times. Said when he raises questions about the situation, the Nuncio says 'this is politics - I don't know', or 'this is war - I cannot do anything.' C. says he demands complete proof of claims about army behaviour in East Timor. says he feels he would have to bring the bodies to Jakarta before the Nuncio would believe. "He gives the impression that he trusts the army more than his own clergy", C said. Puente was in Timor in July 1981. C thought he had been more convinced of the claims then. "If he cannot trust the church, how can he trust the people."

4. Students from Timor

a. Status: Their position is very delicate. Some of them are sent here by the government or army. They are closely watched. If they are indiscrete, they will be sent back to Dili and probably imprisoned. Since the arrest of the 3 DPR members in 1981, they have become much more cautious. They believe a person in their midst - from Atambua and close to Provincial Government (paid by them) - reports on their activities. Results of these conditions are:

- an atmosphere of fear and distrust
- they do not even feel free to talk in Portuguese
- they cannot speak about the situation in East Timor - even among themselves.

b. Views: Because they come from different political backgrounds, there are different opinions. However, most have the following in common:

- they know the real situation in East Timor
- they believe that what is occurring in East Timor is a "systematic genocide".
- they oppose the sending of Indonesians to occupy many positions that could be occupied by Timorese
- some are disappointed with the process they are participating in

5. INFORMATION/INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

C. believes that "the fate of the people depends on the international consciousness and the support of international organisations. If the UN does not say what has happened is wrong, that is to agree with what is being done. If there is no publicity, the war will continue unknown and the Indonesian army will continue committing crimes. The fact that the crimes and barbarities are known at an international level is positive for the Timorese - even though the international organisations cannot do much more for the Timorese."

INTERVIEW WITH D. . 7 MARCH 1982

D. is East Timorese. . Visited Timor in August 1981. Receives letters from Timor and speaks to visiting Timorese.

1. COMMENTS ON WHITLAM/FOOD SITUATION/CHURCH

Was surprised at the content of Whitlam's reported statements. Thinks that the places visited by Whitlam were probably prepared or were areas where he would not see starvation.

- only parts of East Timor are productive such as Suai, Lospalos, Maliana and Bobonaro. Starvation could be found in areas of Turiscai, Fatuberlieu, Fatululik, Lolotoe, Uatolari, Uatocarabau ... He visited Turiscai area. Heard news of other places from friends and relatives from other places.
- believes Whitlam is misinformed about the priests in Timor.
- Says the Catholic Church has a special mission in society:- to fight for justice and "freedom to choose their own way" and to help in daily needs and difficulties.
- In criticising the Bishop, Whitlam has gone against the aspirations of the East Timorese. The Bishop is the people's spokesman - they consider him as their father and confidant. "The Bishop of East Timor is the only man who can describe the true situation of the people of East Timor. He is the only man who has the trust of the people." The East Timorese do not place their trust in the Provincial government.

2. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

a. The top military people in East Timor want to monopolise power. In order to do this, they create confusion in the ranks of the civilian government, report to the central government about the inability of the Timorese to govern and seek to have them replaced by Indonesians. D.described this policy as one of 'divide and conquer'.

b. The Governor (Guillherme Goncalves). The military has sought to have him removed from office. The Vice-Governor (Lopez da Cruz) has been asked to do his work.

- Governor was in Jakarta in the first week of March seeking to be reinstated with his powers as Governor. He has reported his situation of powerlessness to the Central Government and had not, as of 7 March, received a reply. D says the Governor will stay in Jakarta until he receives a reply.
- D says one of the reasons the army in Timor does not like him is because of his refusal to share out among senior officers the earnings from coffee tax (approx. Rp 500-600 million per year or $730 000-$930 000).

- When Madame Suharto visited East Timor in February 1982 to open the Dharma Wanita building (centre for women), the army requested Goncalves to vacate the Governor's residence. He refused, saying that he was Governor and Madame Suharto would stay as his guest. He was forced to leave his home and stayed in the house of the Vice Governor. He felt this was a direct affront to his power.

- The Governor described his position as - 'I am no longer the head - I am only the door for the military to do what they want in East Timor.

C. The Vice-Governor (Lopes da Cruz)

- is presently unable to occupy his office. 'He just stays at home'.
- the military have tried to blame him for the inefficiencies of the government
- the military are uncertain of his allegiences so he is under constant surveillance
- story was told of senior Indon army official, Victor Pande asking the Vice-Governor why he had made the process of integration difficult. Da Cruz replied that Pande should ask Ali Murtopo not himself. - 'he is responsible for the mess'.
- D says the Vice-Governor felt deceived by the Indonesian government because it did not honour promises made to them at the 30 Nov 1975 'declaration of integration'.

D. The Indonesian army figures named as being at the centre of power in Timor are Colonel Kalange, Victor Pande and Asis.

- Kalange is the top military person permanently in Dili
  Pande is God-father of one of Lopes da Cruz's children - but reports on the activities/views of the Vice Governor
  Asis is a member of the Governors staff.

  D says these three are all appointments of Benny Murdani. He names Benny Murdani and Ali Moertopo as being ultimately in charge of East Timor.

3. TIMORESE ATTITUDES

- 'All East Timorese of high consciousness know they are under neo-colonialism. They are unable to express their views freely.'
- On the political aspiration of the East Timorese today, D said 'This is as clear today as ever; they want freedom. In the heart of each East Timorese person, I am sure he is a nationalist.'

4. OTHER POINTS

a. Death of Antonio Brites: Also known as 'Nixon'. Was a member of Fretilin who surrendered. Was taken by Indon military in July 1981 to 'show the way' in a military operation in Maubara (N-W East Timor). Was shot in the back and killed by the army. Was told this by his father-in-law who was told by a friend who was a witness.

b. Life in Dili - the situation is good for those who have money. He also noted a dual system of law:- if civilians die, they get no justice; if army members die, justice is meted out quickly.

c. Passports for Exit: Says those who have permission from the Australian embassy for entry to Australia are quickly issued with Portuguese passports. However, those without such papers usually have long delays before getting a passport. D believes the decisions are made on each case in Lisbon.

Relatives of his paid Rp 1 million to get through the airport without a passport.

Interview with D. . 10 March 1982

1. SOURCE: D. has been meeting with some of the Bupatis from East Timor since they finished their meetings in Hotel Indonesia on Friday. Each morning they have been gathering to discuss various matters esp.

a. Public Information re East Timor

On Saturday (6 March) all the Bupatis were called to the Governor's house and told that "they should tell a lie about the situation in East Timor" (D's words as reported by Bupatis to him) and that they are to speak to no-one from the press especially the foreign press. If asked about the content of the Bishop of Dili's letter, they are to say it was not true. They are to report that everything is going well. D. reported that the reaction of the Bupatis was they decided they have to agree to say nothing because:

i. of their position of responsibility

ii. of the pressure on them (their own words) they are being forced to tell a lie.

b. The Governor of East Timor wants to run for office again while military and other people are trying to get him replaced. D said he last talked to some Bupatis and had a drink with them that morning.

c. D. said they also discussed the comments of Whitlam and ICRC as reported in the papers, during the Saturday interview between Bupati and the Governor.

2. COMMENTS ON WHITLAM (from D.)

a. D. says J. Wanandi is working with Benny Murdani.

b. He thinks it is a contradiction to say that there is no danger in East Timor/to say that Whitlam felt quite safe in East Timor and yet confess that he only travelled around in a helicopter, ie. didn't go by land.

c. Bancau Los Palos, Maliana are three districts which have special areas in them that has been prepared since the beginning to receive foreign visitors and press. These areas have been prepared as proof that food shortage claims are false. They have had constant attention and things do look alright there. But there are other areas of the same district and other districts where there is "widespread disease and famine" because little attention has been given to them.

d. D. says he thinks many people do not believe what Whitlam has said because they know the situation to be different. Only it is very difficult for a Timorese to tell the truth publically, eg. Bishop da Costa Lopes could not reveal his sources of information when he spoke to Whitlam under the circumstances of his visit.

3. ECONOMIC SITUATION

D. gave evidence of a general situation of economic instability and price ranges that make it almost impossible for the ordinary people of East Timor to be able to buy even the basic necessities.

a. The nine major commodities that in the rest of Indonesia are subject to price stability in East Timor are subject to high fluctuations, eg. in Dili a sack of rice ±50 klg. now costs Rp20,000, but outside Dili could cost up to Rp35,000, eg. in Bobonaro, Eemwea, six months ago a sack of rice cost Rp12,000. (The present price for IR rice in Jakarta per sack is Rp10,000 or Rp13,000 if bought by the kilogram).

b. Other prices indicate high inflation that makes it almost impossible for the ordinary people to buy food, eg:

in 1976 one sack of rice cost Rp7,000
in 1977-1978 one sack of rice cost Rp12,000
in 1981-1982 one sack of rice cost Rp20,000-35,000

The rice in East Timor is only the poor quality rice, says D. It is hard for people to buy rice in kilo measures. Either they buy in the sack or they buy small containers from the kiosk at even more inflated prices. Pork meat is from Rp1,000/klg, while other meat can also be as high as Rp1,000 per kilo. Previously meat was readily available at prices ordinary people could afford. Now it is beyond their reach. Goat meat is not sold by the kilo but you have to buy a whole animal - a small kid in Dili costs Rp50,000 (or from Rp30,000) but outside Dili will cost from Rp60,000.

Clothes etc: a pair of trousers in Jakarta costs Rp7,000
a pair of trousers in Dili costs Rp14,000
a motor bike in Jakarta costs Rp1.5 million
a motor bike in Dili costs Rp3.5 million

c. Some parts of East Timor are fertile, eg. Maliana, Natabora, Uatolari, Los Palos, Baucau, Fatumaka, Vikeke but the present harvest is not enough for the whole area of East Timor (D. gave the impression that this was not the case previously). Also inflated prices makes it very difficult to buy available crops. Other areas are not getting any crops because transportation blocked by resistence forces, and danger of ambush. D . also says that outside labour, contract labour from other islands working on construction and plantations get preference to available supplies .

d. Many people live on seasonal crops. They have to wait for harvest before getting an income. In the case of coffee, they get the price that is determined by P.T. Denok. At present it is around Rp300-500 Rp/klg. (In Jakarta Rp1000-1500/klg.)

e. P.T. Denok has control over the buying and selling of the major export crops and the 9 staple commodities. D provided the following information about the operations of P.T. Denok:

1) Benny Murdani is the real Director of the company. Asis and Dading are also involved on the directorship of the company. (Kalangi is not involved, says D). In Dili Mr Tejo is the chief. Hendro is the No. 2.

2) There are many local companies in the districts owned by military officials or Jakarta officialdom, eg. Ahmir Mahmud has some business interest there. But all of these are under the control of P.T. Denok.

3) People cannot sell coffee outside their own town. This is controlled by check points along all the main roads controlled by the military. Even if you bring coffee for personal consumption, you have to bribe the check points to get it through.

f. Difficulty of obtaining work: D. says people are not lazy or unwilling to work. There are certain factors that make work difficult to obtain, eg:

1) Free movement of the population is restricted, particularly unable to move from resettlement areas back to previous occupation.

2) Large numbers of people are brought from outlying villages to be forced to live close to the Kecamatan (town).

3) Many areas are no longer in cultivation (left because of resettlement programmes).

4) Indonesian companies have brought in contract workers from outside East Timor to work in construction and plantation enterprises (for obvious reasons) who take the jobs of the people of East Timor (D also said that in many cases, the East Timorese people are not willing to cooperate and work with Indonesian owned companies.

g. Local Trading, once done by East Timorese Chinese is now done by Chinese brought in or given permission to operate in East Timor by the military command. These Chinese are from Surabaya, Bali, Bandung and Jakarta. D. comments that the sort of Chinese brought in are the ones the military find most cooperative with their interests. The surrendering of the economy to the Indonesian Chinese has made it difficult for local East Timorese to get into trading. Even the small shops and kiosks run by a few East Timorese have been given no assistance from government or military.

h. The harvest in most areas of East Timor depends heavily on the rainfall. Generally farmers are accustomed to subsistance level farming - ie, farm for their own requirements. They are now forced to buy and sell their crops so that the traditional pattern has been disruptive. D. comments that their lack of education and lack of attention to the whole agricultural sector has created a very disruptive situation. Especially in isolated areas like Lakluta, Turiskai, Maubisse, Letefoho, where there is little contact by land with outside world and the people are forced to do things for the military, eg. grow certain cash crops, sell their produce at low prices on credit, give their crops to feed the army etc.

4. RESETTLEMENT

a. Many resettlement camps still exist throughout East Timor. The programme of continuing to resettle people in East Timor is an ongoing one. It has stopped temporarily because the military feared a possible resurgance of resistance from the East Timorese as a result of the publication of the DPR letter to the President and other documents/news. The original plan was to begin resettlement in December 1981. The internal resettlement of East Timorese would be followed by forced resettlement in other parts of Indonesia outside Timor. D.. said he obtained this information from an Indonesian Government official (in the planning section for East Timor resettlement).

b. Forced resettlement has been occuring from one Kabupatan to another as well as from outlying villages to towns, eg. from Bancau to Ainaro from Los Palos - Same and Bobonaro.

c . The reason for resettlement according to D is that the military fear the East Timorese will form groups of local resistance (not necessarily armed resistance) to the Indonesian occupation. He also stated that resettlement was a result of continued Fretilin resistance in the mountains.

d. One of the results of resettlement is the disruption of agricultural patterns because the people do not know the new land - ie, how best to cultivate, where to cultivate, etc.

5. HUMANITARIAN AID - ICRC/CRS

a. D says the ICRC aid never comes straight to the people - and everytime it goes through an intermediary, they use some of it for their own interests. In the local districts, there is the Danril, Dandis Dansec (police and military officials) all more powerful than the Bupati himself all of whom also handle the aid.

b. Especially in isolated areas like Lakluta, the ordinary people know that the white man has come to help them but they never know what they bring because they never see any of it.

c. In other areas the presence of ICRC and CRS foreign personnel is a sign of hope for them that one day they will be "free" to attain independence. When they hear that the white man is coming to help, the help they are thinking of is not food but freedom. (D says the people are willing to go without food (to starve) if it means freedom.) But instead of freedom they only get food. In Maubisse when a white person got out of a helicopter, an old man rushed up and knelt before him asking him to help them attain freedom.

6. HEALTH

a. The whole health programme of East Timor is in the hands of Dr Alex and Dr Berrik, both from NTT. The former is Kepala Dinas Kesehatan, the latter Kepala Kanwil Dinas Kesehatan.

b. These two take a lot of the ICRC medical supplies, keep them hidden and sell them at a later stage. This information was passed on by a religious sister who works in the health section and by another man (name given) who is a member of the ICRC team.

c. Many of the jobs in the medical profession are taken by Indonesians and not made available to competent East Timorese.

d. Military doctors are placed at all levels of the operation.

e. In isolated areas, all the medical distribution shops are selling ICRC medicines.

7. RESISTANCE

a. D. says he is sure Xanana is still alive. There was news that he was killed by Vidasa Menuri last year. His brother reported he was killed to D. in Jakarta, but a more recent report from his cousin says he is still alive and still controls the Eastern part of East Timor. The military are making payments to local people for information of his whereabouts. The people of East Timor, says D., passively support him, and actively in some parts.

b. D is convinced that the true secret in each East Timorese heart is that he or she is a nationalist and has a desire for independence.

c. D believes that East Timor cannot be seen as a foregone conclusion. "We are in a process of evolution and the end of the process is to achieve freedom - to have the ability to decide for yourself as a person who is free and created by God". D is convinced that East Timor can still move towards that direction.

d. D. says he is looking for concrete ways to achieve his dream/ideal but at the moment he can only think of either International pressure, especially in America or/and Resistance of sorts by the East Timorese.

If we ever become forgotten by the international forum, we will suffer the same fate as Irian Jaya. This is why we continue to hope that people will continue to fight for our rights."

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS:

- D seems well informed about historical developments in East Timor
- He has many contacts that substantiate his stories
- While he is very aware of the dangers, he still is anxious that the world know the full story
- He wants to continue the struggle.

CONVERSATION WITH E 8 March 1982

E is related to a senior person in Indonesian Red Cross in East Timor.

1. HEALTH

a. Doctors: E says Indonesian doctors don't want to serve the people. They can't get much money in East Timor. It is very difficult to get medical treatment. As an example he told the story of a woman who died in January 1982. She went to hospital to give birth. During labour, she lost a lot of blood and needed a transfusion. A doctor was called but he took a long time to arrive. E says that the reason for her (and the child's) death was that when he did arrive, he only gave her serum and then left. He never returned to check on her condition. E said it is events like this which cause people to say that it is better to stay at home than go to the hospital.

b. Hospitals: Informant said the hospital conditions and treatment were generally poor. He cited the example of hospital which he visited last year. A friend of his was in the hospital with a bullet wound to his leg. He did not recognise the friend until the latter saw him and called him - such was his condition. Food was not available in the hospital. All people in hospital were Timorese. E said the general hospital in Dili is almost exclusively for the military. There is a new hospital for the civilian population in Dili.

c. General Health: Understands that T.B. rates have increased since 1979 - but treatment is difficult to obtain. says the general health of children is declining because of food shortages, and the rising prices of food are beyond ordinary Timorese.

d. Medicines: E says medicines are difficult to obtain outside Dili - and they are expensive. He cited the case of a Camat he spoke to from the Laclo area. There were cholera outbreaks in his area. He could not get medicine in Manatuto, so he had to go to Dili.

2. AID

a. International Red Cross: Was certain that conditions found by ICRC on Atauro were prepared. E spoke to an ICRC worker recently after an ICRC trip to East Timor. He said the worker told him that up to 45% of ICRC aid was not reaching the people. Food aid would be carried by jeep from the storehouse to the distribution point. Before reaching that point, the jeep would stop at 'the house of the Bapak' and some would be offloaded. He said he told him that he interviewed people in one place to determine how much sugar they received. He found that they were receiving less than the ICRC specified amount. It was E's opinion that the missing sugar would have been sold.

b. Indonesian Red Cross: E simply said: "Concerning the PMI - it is a pity I have to say this - but it is not sufficient."

3. PRISONS

a. Atauro: Says conditions are very bad there. He believes the death toll is 5-6 per day. A major problem is a water shortage on the island. He spoke to a Camat who visited relatives on the island. Believes there are some 3,000 people held there. He understood the use of Atauro as a prison began in 1980. The attack on Dili in June 1980 - which failed in its objective - resulted in the capture by TNI of documents which named many people. These people were rounded up and sent to Atauro. The families of these people were also imprisoned.

b. Other: Portuguese gaols are used. Before June 1980, political prisoners were held in Balide prison in Dili - but now only non-political prisoners are held there. E has not heard of other islands being used as prisons for East Timorese.

c. Economic Consequences: E stressed the results of imprisonment. If a head of family or son is imprisoned, money for food etc is almost impossible to gain in most cases. This leads members of the family into prostitution and spying for the Indonesian army in order to get money.

d. Treatment in Prisons: E says punishment of prisoners is common outside Dili because it is easier to get away with it. His young cousin witnessed the killing of 3 prisoners in the Baucau market place in 1979. The 3 Timorese village people, who had been members of the resistance (not leaders) were tied to crosses, stabbed and kicked publically. They died after 24 hours. (E says former resistance members may not be killed - but are generally not able to get jobs.)

4. OTHER COMMENTS

a. Provincial Government: E says the leaders of the local government are divided amongst themselves.

b. Development: Said "urbanisation" is progressing in East Timor - in certain towns. eg. Dili and Baucau In Maliana poor housing but agriculture is growing. In Baucau good housing is due to the work of the Bupati. His attempts to improve conditions have bought him up against the army. Differences between the army and the civil administration are common. Some people who are working closely with the Indonesian government are living well.

c. Whitlam/ICRC reports: Says they are lies. "I cannot believe them", he said.

d. Indonesian immigrants: Says the majority of people in Dili are from Java and West Timor. These people are considered before East Timorese - in jobs etc - he said.

E speaks reasonable English. Conditions of the interview were difficult - in an office with people moving in and out. He agreed to write something for us on the above topics - especially health, ICRC.

INTERVIEW WITH: G. H. F. 9 MARCH 1982

G was in Dili until the end of November 1981
H was in Ermera/Dili until the end of December 1981
F. left East Timor 6 months ago.

1. ECONOMY (H worked as driver for P.T. Denok)

a. The whole export economy is controlled by P.T. Denok, which has branch offices throughout the whole of East Timor. These branch offices are under different names but they all belong to the same monopoly.

b. The main export crops, coffee, sandalwood as well as secondary ones, feurisi, copra must be sold at the place where they are grown, at the price set by P.T. Denok.

c. Anyone who is caught transporting crops to other districts, even in small amounts for private distribution among family, eg, in Dili, will be punished. If the amounts are small, 2-3 kilos, the crop will be confiscated by either P.T. Denok or by the military for P.T. Denok. If the amounts are large, the crop will be confiscated and the people carrying it will be put in jail.

d. The price is considered far too low by the local people who grow it. Coffee prices vary according to international prices. The price given to the farmers in 1981 was never higher than Rp350 per kilo, and sometimes as low as Rp150. The monopoly, P.T. Denok would sell it to local Chinese for local consumption with a 100-150% mark up. The going market price for coffee at the moment in Dili is Rp1,200/kilo which is mixed with rice and corn.

e. The Director of P.T. Denok is Hendro, from Jakarta. The head office is in Jakarta. Hendro and the officials of P.T. Denok have commercial interests in Australia and Singapore (our informant does not know the details of these).

f. Our informant, H, had worked as a driver with P.T. Denok, transporting goods from Ermera to Dili and supervising the harvest to see that none is stolen or sold to other sources.

g. G. worked for P.T. Bora^2 for some time. P.T. Bora^2 is, he believes, the only other exporting importing company not under the control of P.T. Denok. It is a small company owned by a Javanese named MARZUKI from Surabaya.

h. Another company P.T. Nadiak, also owned by P.T. Denok is the monopoly company for all imported goods into East Timor.

2. AGRICULTURE

a. People usually cultivate land at some distance from their village. The land they cultivate does not necessarily belong to individuals, but is used by individual families for specific periods.

b. Previously, there was an abundance of alternate crops if any one crop failed. Now there is an acute food shortage. There is very little agricultural work being done these days (by comparison).

c. There are several reasons for this, among others:

- the resettlement programmes have caused people to leave their own district and live in other areas. They do not know which land to harvest and are often not able to go out looking for fresh land.
- any movement in and out of the village requires police/military permission (surat jalan) and as this is a lot of trouble to do each day they want to go to the fields, they tend not to do it.
- when put in resettlement areas, they are unsure of which is good land and which is poor. They do not know the land around them and so they tend to leave it and wait for rice or other food distribution. The resettlement areas do have small gardens, but they are insufficient for even basic needs.

3. RESETTLEMENT

a. Resettlement occurs in all the Kabupatens. Once people are in resettlement areas, they are not permitted to return to their own village. eg. also people who returned from the mountains and surrendered in Dili are forced to stay in Dili and not return to their own village. Houses are being built for them. (6 X 6 metres; zinc roof, 3 ply walls - poor construction) in a special area near the airport of Dili (47 houses) - F comments that it is hard to believe even when the Timorese tell the story.

b. F says people are forced to livein Resettlement areas and stay there for some years. They cannot go back to their own houses (villages) for a number of reasons: eg.

- original houses destroyed through lack of maintenance
- in some areas, there is danger of Fretilin and TNI attack
- some have been destroyed by either Fretilin or TNI

c. The people are promised that they will be able to return to their own land but they have not been able to so far. F said "the Timorese love their country and don't want to be forced to live here or there by outsiders agains their will".

4. MILITARY ACTIVITY

a. Resistance continues but at a much lower level than previously (3-4 years ago). The Fretilin still give the army problems because they attack, looking for food.

b. Fretilin are not as well organised as before. They never stay in a fixed place - they never attack the local population in the villages. And sometimes the population supplies the Fretilin.

c. F used to work in ICRC - he asked for increase in pay after working there one year because it was dangerous to take food to the mountains. If the Fretilin do take the food, we will be accused of collaborating with Fretilin when we return and report the food is stolen. We could be shot.

(NOTE: Sometimes they seemed to suggest it was dangerous to be around Fretilin areas because of what Fretilin would do to them but it became clear that the danger came in being seen to associate with Fretilin - the Indonesian army would punish, shoot or jail them). eg. our informant told us: The military say, "If you go to that area, out of the resettlement area, we will not be responsible for your security" - could mean: "you could be shot by the TNI not Fretilin".

5. OPERASI KEAMAN AN (July - September 1981)

a. Everyone was forced to take part in this operation to put an end to Fretilin. People were forced to participate. If they did not, they were taken to the Koramil (local military command) by the police of the village.

b. At night trucks would go around looking for men who had escaped conscription and take them away to the H said he saw a truck pick up some men in front of Balide Church. H said he had been able to escape recruitment because he was always about to go to some other district.

c. The people all went without weapons, and had to walk around or go to special areas in the hinterland. They would receive food 5 klg of rice or corn for 1-3 weeks. (Sometimes they would not receive new supplies for 3 months). They were expected to find food for themselves in the bush.

d. Many people died of starvation during this operation, others returned very sick and some went mad. Most people, who returned, came back very weak.

6. ICRC

a. Food was taken to Beaco by ICRC and during the night the army came and stole 5-6 sacks of supplies, rice, sugar, etc. The man who was watching the supplies could do nothing. He reported it to an ICRC official the following morning, who did not send the report to the head office of ICRC " He just kept quiet about it ", so reports H . The food was either kept or sold even in Beaco itself. This happened in late 1979, and is an example of what happens regularly. It also happens with medical supplies. Often whenever the army is short of money they come to take supplies to be re sold in the market - everyone knows, no-one can do anything or complain. This has been happening in Viqueque, Dilor, Beaco, Baucau and Laga .....

7. FOOD

a. "Manipulation" or loss due to supplies being taken by Army means many isolated areas don't get emergency relief.

b. There are still plenty of people dying from hunger. In other areas there is enough food to keep living but only one meal a day, and very poor quality by comparison with previous years.

c. General situation of not enough food all over Timor - this was reported in reply to our request to be specific - which areas?? News of it is controlled by Government.

d. Even in Dili you can see skinny children with protruding stomachs.

8. GOVERNMENT AID TO EAST TIMOR

a. F says there is evidence of money going into building construction, houses, roads etc, but in fact most of the money goes to the buildings of TNI and Indonesian officials and not to the people.

INTERVIEW G. H. F. 13 March 1982

1. FAMILY REUNION/REFUGEES

a. A large number of people want to leave East Timore because they believe there is no life for them as part of Indonesia. "The government does not give them a chance to re-organise their life", said H. He blames the situation on the behaviour of the army and by a small minority of Timorese. This minority he identified as Apodeti members who, for example, "tell lies to the army such as saying a particular person is connected with Fretilin". This causes great difficulty for that person.

b. Citizenship: People do not take citizenship because they don't want to be Indonesian.

c. Costs: Many are unable to leave because of the cost of getting out of East Timor, of staying in Jakarta and the cost of gaining an exit permit.

i. Surat Jalan from Dili: They believe the only way to get out of East Timor is with a Surat Jalan. This document has to be signed by 3 authorities in Dili - the army, intelligence and local government. It is only for a limited period - usually two weeks - and is usually issued on the pretext that the people are going to Jakarta for shopping, medical treatment etc. The costs of obtaining the Surat Jalan vary. It is usually done by one person who gets all the required signatures. He is paid by the person leaving - and in turn pays others who have secured the signatures. The average price is probably about Rp 1 million. G Paid this amount. H paid slightly less. When they left, they were not required to lodge a guarantee of return. They flew from Dili - Kupang - Bali - Jakarta by Garuda F28. Current price of trip is Rp 150,000.

ii. Exit Permits: Both G and H have Portuguese passports. G has an entry permit for Australia but H, whose family is in Australia is not eligible. The passports are now in the possession of a middle'man who will attempt to secure the exit permit. They were told it would cost approximately Rp 1 million. They knew people had paid more than this.

d. People in Jakarta: Informants thought there were only about 10 Timorese in Jakarta awaiting exit. They did not know of any who were on the list of 625. They thought there were some 300 Chinese in Jakarta - but they were not sure. Some had been here for up to two years. They said that the main reason there were more Chinese than Timorese getting out was economic - in many cases Chinese had been able to sell homes and/or shops to gain enough money to leave. This is not possible for most Timorese.

2. RESISTANCE:

a. All three believed that the actual numbers in the resistance was quite small. They described them as small guerilla groups operating in various parts of East Timor. They never stay in one place. They did not believe that the groups were co-ordinated.

b. The informants believed that the majority of the resistance were "Fretilin" and this is what people call the resistance. Many people joined Fretilin after the invasion - even though they were not part of the group earlier. The present resistance also includes people who surrendered - were mistreated - and so returned to the bush.

c. UDT still exists "in the mind of some people" in East Timor said F As an organisation, it did not really exist. He thought that it was possible for UDT and Fretilin people in East Timor to co-operate. However, some "educated people" are concerned about the Communist label given to Fretilin. F said he believed that the majority of "ordinary Timorese" are not worried about such labels - it is meaningless to them.

d. They had no definite news about Xanana. They all knew who he was and described him as the "leader of one group". They had heard stories about his death but more recent suggestions that he was still alive.

e. F. was unsure or unable to give his own feelings about continued resistance. He did say that he thought the existence of the resistance did cause problems for the wider population because the army would remain active there. He understood that if the army discovered that Fretilin had visited a certain village, there was a possibility that the army would conduct "a massacre" in that village. "The East Timorese just want to survive", he said. He added that Fretilin does not attack the population. The usual actions are ambush of Indonesian patrols or posts to capture food and weapons.

3. MILITARY OPERATIONS

a. Lacluta: All three were very sure that the deaths at Lacluta did occur. "Everyone in East Timor knows about it." They had heard stories about similar events in other places in East Timor during Operasi Keamanan but were unable to confirm them. They believe that killing of the population is common-place. Sometimes their reasons are political: in some cases there appears to be no reason at all. F says maybe the killings might be the result of Indonesian troops having to spend weeks on end in the mountains. Of Lacluta, they believed that the majority of those killed were ordinary East Timorese who were surrendering. There may have been a few members of Fretilin in the group.

b. Batallions 744/5: They are composed of a mixture of East Timorese, Javanese and Indonesians from other parts - especially West Timor. When formed, about half of the batallion members were East Timorese but their numbers were being reduced because the army does not trust the East Timorese.

F agreed that being members of 744/5 would mean they would have to act against their own people. He said that once in the Batallion, they would have to obey Indonesian army orders. He believed the main reason for joining the batallions was economic - there are few jobs for Timorese - this is one. F thought that seeking revenge for known or alleged Fretilin actions against family members was not a significant factor in the reasons why East Timorese join 744. Some people may have been forced to join. G said when he surrendered in 1979, he was obliged to join Hansip. He remained in Hansip until the end of Operasi Keamanan - Sept 1981.

4. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT/COMMUNICATION IN EAST TIMOR

a. Postal: Closed letters cannot be sent from Dili via the post office. It is generally believed that all such mail is inspected. Timorese send letters by 'safe hand' to Jakarta where they are put into the postal system. Letters posted in Dili may take a month to get to Jakarta. F has a friend in Jakarta who received an envelope which contained no letter. It is possible to send letters into East Timor.

b. Telephone: There is a telephone link between Jakarta and Dili - but it is not available to the public. Attempts to be connected via the exchange are met with statements that the facility is not available. Contact can be made through the army or the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is possible to ring direct from Dili to Jakarta.
(NOTE: The latest edition of Perumtel's "SLJJ NOMOR KODE WILAYAH" - - which gives area codes for inter city telephone calls - has no entry for East Timor. Kupang is listed)

c. Travel in East Timor: Surat Jalans are required for travel anywhere in East Timor. Even from town to town within a Kabupaten. Informants said that it is permissable to go without a surat jalan but if one does so, he/she faces the prospect of being questioned by the military and being suspected of aiding or contacting the resistance. So, they described the surat jalans as being necessary for their own protection. The informants added that Timorese rarely went anywhere by themselves. They travelled in groups to avoid the possibility of harrassment by the army.

5. TRANSMIGRATION

a. F understands that the official program will begin in about 1984. He was told that Javanese families would go there. The program will begin with a pilot group of 40 families who will go to a fertile area such as Maliana.

b. Other Indonesians have moved to East Timor but not as part of Transmigrasi. One of the informants said, "there are many foreigners in East Timor." He was referring to Indonesians from

Sulawesi, West Timor and other islands. They operate as merchants and almost all of them are in Dili. F cited the situation of East Timorese nurses. Many of them cannot get a job in hospitals or clinics. The jobs are given to nurses from Indonesia.

6. PRISONS

At the height of Indonesian military operations in earlier years, all "army companies" had their own prison. They had absolute authority and imprisoned at will. Informants were not sure of prisons in the countryside of East Timor now. Balide prison is used - but they believe most political prisoners were now kept on Atauro and probably elsewhere. Informants believed a number of people have been taken to another island - but they don't know which one. They speculate that it might be Buru. They did not know anything about the village of Ostico (place where ex-Fretilin people are living). Believe that in many cases, whole family goes with the prisoner. Informants were unsure of whereabouts of David Ximines. F saw him (still in Detention) in July 1981.

7. FOOD

a. ICRC: F commented on the report that ICRC said there was no famine. He said he doesn't believe the report. He is sure that ICRC would have been taken to prepared places and that ICRC would not have been permitted to go everywhere.

b. F commented on the word "famine". If this means that severe malnutrition is commonplace, then there is a famine in East Timor. It is not sufficient he said, to have a full stomach. Before 1975 there was malnutrition but not as bad as now. F said they never heard of people dying of malnutrition before 1975. At that time, he said, "even a poor man had some food and a house. Now a poor man has nothing."

8. PUBLICITY AND THE FUTURE

a. Publicity: F said he thought is was possible that publication of events in East Timor may affect family reunions. The Government must guess that the information comes from Timorese. On the other hand he said, the world should know what is happening in East Timor. "This war has been going on for nearly 10 years", he said, "but our problems are still unsolved - all the publicity has not significantly helped the Timorese." But, he added, "if we just wait - it is certain nothing will happen."

b. International support: The local government of East Timor is powerless. The only possibility is that the Government of Indonesia changes its position. Perhaps this can happen if the USA or Australia change their positions.

c. Aspirations: There are many injustices in East Timor. The local government is unhappy. Even Apodeti members are unhappy. The objective of the East Timorese people is to be free. We are integrated because we are obliged to be - we have no other way open to us.

9. OTHER COMMENTS:

THE CHURCH: The church is the only organisation that the East Timorese people trust. They have a special respect for the church. Everything they know, they tell to the priests. F believes strongly that the statements of the Bishop are true for this reason.

DEATH TOLL: All 3 informants believed the death toll was high. F believed many were directly killed. Many hundreds were killed during the first days of the invasion. In response to my question as to how many have died, F said that the population was about 700,000 before the war. Now, it was about 450,000 - 500,000. I can conclude for myself he said. He said his population figure was based on a survey by a Catholic Priest in Timor. He thought the 1980 Indonesian census figure of 553,000 would have included Indonesians.

REFLECTION ON INTERVIEW

The interview was conducted in English. One of the informants had a fair grasp of the language - but answers did not carry a wealth of detail. Conversation was difficult because the English-speaking informant seemed reluctant to give details of sources. His reluctance may be partly explained by his fear that talking to me may endanger his position here. His aim is to return to Timor to do what he can for his people with skills and knowledge gained in Indonesia. He does not want to be forced to return to Timor before his course is finished. He asked me to not give his name to any other visiting Australians.

Interview with I. and J 15 March 1982

I was born in Ermera, went to Dili for S.M.A., worked for a while in coffee traiding company - was in Portuguese army - worked with CRS during last few years.

J was born in Lakluta - educated in Dili, was a Camat for a short time during Portuguese times, his family is helped by some assistance from family in Australia and the government of East Timor. Both have relatives who were captured. J says people have said he is on the black list but because of connections, he has never been imprisoned. His brother is constantly harrassed and occasionally tortured, but his life is spared because of connections. Both these two spent time in the jungle with Fretilin. They have friends who inform them of more recent events but get little information through letters.

INTERROGATION - HUMAN RIGHTS ETC

a. The normal procedure is for a captured or surrendered person to be interrogated at the Koramil. If they were important people, they would be held for a few months. Then they would be sent to Dili for further interrogation and held in Saneho(?), and possibly after that they are sent to Comarca and then after 6 months they completely disappear without a trace.

"We often heard that women were stripped and tortured with live cigarettes and with electric shocks to the genital region."

10 JUNE 1980 INCIDENT

I was in Dili - I had just come from Suai. I was working with CRS. I was near Lahane. Shooting began in the evening and continued till around 6.00am.

Then the people around the place of attack were rounded up and taken to the Koramil for interrogation one by one. They were all accused of sheltering Fretilin. All their houses were burnt down. Many people disappeared during this time. Ordinary people living in the houses around where the army was attacked. The people who were left were gathered around places where the TNI had a stronghold.

Some informed on others. If they did not say where Fretilin was or who just returned from the jungle, they would disappear without trace. Now they live, still in shacks and shantys. There have been some new houses built but not enough.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

While in prison, often the only food they get is what is brought by their families. When they are released they still have to report every month (sometimes every week) to the Koramil. Often unexpectedly they will be picked up and taken without explanation to the Koramil. where they will be questioned and held for a day - 2 days - sometimes they are beaten sometimes they just disappear. The army tells the family they have been given a job in another area.

The people are constantly scared of being picked up at any time by the army - they don't know why, whether they will be tortured or killed.

Each evening the army truck goes around picking up people - ordering them to get into the car without reasons given to take nothing. This was seen to happen many times in 1980-1981 by I and J.

People are scared to live in Dili, but are not permitted to go back to the districts.

1978: The head of intelligence was a good man. He abolished torture and released prisoners.
1979-1980: Another man took his place. All prisoners freed by Mr.Guanap the previous head, were recalled and then disappeared. This was at least 200 people - all the leaders and educated members of the community. Many others were constantly called, interrogated and tortured. These included J's brother, who also was not permitted to obtain work until mid 1981.

CRS OPERATIONS

Our job was to go to the Kabupaten or Kecamatan and count the number of families. Then we would report back and be given 10 klg of food for each person plus medical supplies. We were supposed to distribute the food but we were forced to surrender it to the KORAMIL district military post. They would not permit us to give out so much food at once because they said it would be given to Fretilin. They would only give out 5 klg. They were supposed to give out 5 more later but they would only give out 5 more when new supplies were sent by CRS - the rest we are told, they used themselves or sold or used as wages for building programmes (for which the Government had made available funds already), or exchange it for eggs and chickens etc. We know food was sold by TNI in the following places - and we reported this to CRS head office in Dili:-

Maubisse, Ermera, Hatobuilico, Liquica, Manatutu, Baucau, Los Palos, Suai, Laga.

Clothing aid was sorted so that good clothes were kept by the military.

If the CRS worker protests they would be hit and threatened with a pistol "you must be one of the Fretilin - I will kill you..."

OTHER VIOLATIONS

A friend took 6 sacks of coffee in a truck to sell in Dili. He was discovered at a check point. He asked if he could be permitted to take 5 bags to give one to the officials. "No - you give them all to us." He had already paid the transport cost - so he lost everything and went home with nothing for his family to eat.

An old woman had a little coffee for drinking in the bottom of a large bag of odds and ends. She was going back to her family. The army official searched everyone in the truck and finally found this old lady's coffee - just a little ground coffee for drinking. It was taken from her.

Often an army official or even a Hansip will say to a woman, "if you don't marry me, I will kill you!" I have friends who have been accused this way!

INTERVIEW WITH L. 15 March 1982

L provides background information about the development of attitudes of Timorese subsequent to Indonesian behaviour after the take over of East Timor. L is on his way back to Timor after studies in Indonesia.

Examples of Human Rights violations

L says that the attitude of the people and the leaders of the people has changed as a result of the behaviour of the Indonesians. He provided many examples that he remembered being associated with himself.

Aid/ Humaniterian assistance manipulation

In 1977 he was in Letefoho when clothes arrived from the government to be distributed to the people but they were sold by the TNI instead. Likewise between the years 1976 and 1979 he witnessed how rice that had been sent for distribution was sold in the market place or taken by the Indonesians for their own consumption, or used to exchange items of value. E.g. when the people had no money and were starving, the TNI would force them to make the exchange, threatening their life or beating them.
In another village in Baucau, "many times people were given aid only if they joined the Islamic faith".
In Bobonaro, 1978-1979, the aid was sold to the people at such a high price that they had to exchange food for their last savings or jewelry or whatever they had in the house. e.g. many people had old English sovereigns from the time of King James, which they had to surrender to get the emergency aid food. A friend of mine had to give up every single possession he had because it was known that he was a friend of Fretilin. "Fortunately he was able to buy his right to live" said L .

Violation of Women

In 1979 L witnessed girls aged 13-17 publicly raped. " The people were screaming out and wanted to take revenge. They asked me what to do", he said. The girls had to be treated medically for some months after. The people said on that occasion that the TNI were worse then the communists. The Commander declared he would send the soldiers concerned home as a punishment.
L reported that it was common practice for a husband to be accused of collaboration with Fetilin if he did not surrender his wife.

Deaths

Also in Bobonaro L stated that his brother was killed in a mysterious way. He said that there was a telegram supposedly sent from the Bishop of Dili requesting that he leave. . But he sent a reply saying he would not come until there was a signed letter with the same message, because he suspected the telegram was false. Then he disappeared and was found dead some days later.

Travel Restrictions

L considers that his country is not free. He stated as evidence the problem of not being able to sell coffee except under restrictive conditions. Also there are so many restrictions on freedom of movement. For example, to get permission to move from one village to another you must have a letter from

1. the village head
2. the police
3. the army District Commander
4. the Kodim

Each person must be paid and paid more to get the permission quickly. For example you must pay Rp. 100 - 300 or cigarettees for normal permissions. There is a further proce-dure and price scale if you want to take anything with you. Nothing is fixed it depends on the whim of the man in charge.

Food/ Land

The ownership status of much land is no longer clear. Many people have died, either through war or famine while others have been moved through resettlement programs. Sometimes different people claim the same land. Where there is doubt or the status of land is unclear the government will take over the land for its own use, said L.

Maliana, where many of L's family live, is considered a fertile area. Now there is a new irrigation system (started in Portuguese times). It has always been a surplus area. " But it is untypical of the whole. Many places have great difficulty finding food for survival alone. L said this in response to press reports that indicated no food shortage in the wholeof East Timor. He could not believe the statements of Gough Whitlam.

Corruption of Government officials.

In 1980, L . said in one area, the Camat (Regional official) requested the people to make a list of everything that they had lost (as a result of recent military misbehaviour). Some houses had been burnt down and many had lost many things from their houses through looting. Compensation money was sent to the region but the people never received any of it. It is known that even the East Timorese officials were involved in this incident of corruption.

Those in authority, such as the Bupati, the Camat etc, are given all sorts of privileges and they have "every need fulfilled which the people get nothing. This causes a great gap which divides the people among themselves.

Some people refuse to cooperate or even plot to take revenge, but they know that they will get cacked and they will not gain any cooperation if they want to have the permission to move or seek other employment.

Culture crisis

The culture of the people will take a long time to be integrated." The Indonesians do not seem to appreciate the richness and individuality of our culture", said L.. "We have five centuries of Portuguse rule. Any drastic change will cause a vacuum and many undesirable practices"
This seems to be what has happened, according to L

Church

People are upset that the priests are often treated in a disrespectful way. They are tortured and imprisioned sometimes. If the priests refuse to cooperate their life is made very difficult and uncomfortable by the military, said L TheChurch does not give a clear directive because it is divided and the divisio is exploited by the government. L . gave a simple example of the liturgy. If Indonesian language is used the people do not yet understand. If any Tetum or Portuguse is used the peopel are accused of plotting treason.

It is commonly known that the government officials are under the control of the TNI. So the people will go to the Bishop and to the priests if they have a complaint. The attitude of the majority of the people has changed radically, said L , after they saw what the Indonesians were doing to them. Originally many of the priests were UDT supporters. But it was not long before the Church felt it had to defend the people against further injustice. "It is not surprising to me that many priests have a negative attitude to the government and the army, because of what happened to the people since the Indonesian take over" L said this commenting on the attack of the clergy by Gough Whitlam in the daily press.

L. says there are signs that the Bishop, Martinho da Costa Lopes does not get the full support of all his priests. He would like to see the Church move towards a greater mutual understanding between Church personnel and to state their position more clearly. "If they don't then it will be difficult to get anywhere"said L.

L said he would probably work as part of the Church structure if he can get a satisfactory job. He is worried that he will not be able to work with so many different factions and divisions. "I am faced with all sorts of dilemmas. If I support the Indonesians, maybe most of the people of East Timor will not agree with me. The Muslim Party is the only alternative political party in Indonesia, but how can I support them".

INTERVIEW M 17/3/82

M was in Dili for the three month period of Fretilin control in 1975 and stayed there for 1½ months after the Indon invasion. He continued **his studies** in West Timor and occasionally visited Oecusse. In June/July **1981, M travelled** by road from Maliana to Baucau via Bobmaro, Atsabe, Ermera, Tibar, Dili.

1. Situation in Oecusse

   a. General Conditions: - there was no war in Oecusse, nor was there any famine there because there are sufficient rice fields. The army did take food - but not so much as to cause food shortages. However, the people were affected by the war - in particular, control of their daily lives by the army.

   b. Economy: Army soon bega n wholesale removal of Sandalwood from the enclave. People were ordered to cut it down and sell it at low prices. The cut wood was transported weekly to Dili from Pante Macassar.

   (In 1980, the Oecusse DPR protested to the East Timor governor. The ships stopped coming; the local commander and a number of others were sent to the war zone in Lospalos as punishment).

   c. Army in Control: M described the army as having full authority to do as it pleased. He illustrated this by describing frequent parties conducted by military commanders. He said young women would be invited to come and were forced to attend if they refused. Said however that he did not believe the army was as rough as it was in East Timor proper.

   People were always being called together to confirm their presence in an area. This was very disruptive to daily life. A system of surat jalans was introduced for movement in the enclave. 'Everyone soon realised that things weren't under control in East Timor' said M. Civil officials had no power: they were only 'symbols'.

   d. Conscription: Since 1977 (and still happening) young people not at school are forced to join Hansip and to undergo military training in preparation for work in East Timor proper. A list of names would be circulated by the army advising people to report for Hansip training the following day. Most people went because they were afraid of the possible consequences of not reporting.

   e. East Timorese attitudes: M reported his father's comment about the present situation: 'I fought strongly for integration because I thought Fretilin was communist - but now, I can't see any advantage in integration. Living standards are far worse now than they were in Portugese times.'

   f. Development: Houses have been built - but they are of weak construction. In many cases they have been built for people who have had their (better) houses taken over by the military. His mother believes that much of the money designated for administration and development by the Central Government 'is not used for that purpose'.

2. Observations in East Timor June/July 1981

a. Pagar Betis: He saw and heard of people 'from a young age' being forced into military exercises. People 'knew they had to do it.' He believed the army required them to help because the army did not know its way through the mountains.

He couldn't understand why these people had to go unarmed. They carried what food they could - food was not given to them by the army. Many got sick. He heard many people suffered from lack of food. He said some who returned were too sick to work fields - though in some cases, women did work fields.

b. Bobonaro: He was told the security situation was not good. Fretilin forces were still operating in the area.

c. Atsabe: He asked people what they thought of the present situation. They spontaneously replied that it was better in Portuguese times. People said 'we used to be colonised by people with white skin, now it is by people with black skin.'

d. Ermera: Coffee is the major focus here. Coffee has to be sold to the army at a cheap price. All vehicles travelling to Dili from here are closely checked at various checkpoints, (while he was in Atambua, he saw an army truck arrive from East Timor loaded with coffee. It was sold at Rp1500 per kg. He understood ET farmers received only Rp250 or thereabouts per kilo.)

e. Baucau: Heard that people there were against having to take part in Pagar Betis - they were afraid and nervous. The families left behind were upset at their menfolk being sent to the mountains without weapons, food or shelter. They felt they were in a 'no win' situation. They would ask: 'Why do we have to fight our brother? Isn't Indonesia strong enough to fight Fretilin by themselves?'

He heard a story of a man, desperate for food, climbing a coconut tree to collect fruit. He was shot by the army "because he was outside his area."

f. Development: Could not see anything of significance. A few offices in Dili perhaps. Houses have been built but they are not strong. Poor compared to equivalent houses in NTT.

- He noted with displeasure that when important visitors arrive, like the President, they are taken only to the good places.
- "It's said that East Timor is being given special treatment - but there is no sign of it."
- The first thing you notice is the signs of dilapidation.

g. Movement: Movement of people and vehicles are closely controlled. There are checkpoints throughout East Timor.

- Cited example of Papal Nuncio who went to Timor in July 1981. He wished to visit all Kabupaten but was refused permission. He could not even go to Dare outside Dili.
- Money can ease the path through the countryside. He travelled with a Chinese businessman in a car. The businessman carried a crate of cigarettes. He would hand over up to 3 packets of cigarettes and from Rp1000-Rp10000 to soldiers at checkpoints to 'speed things up'. Such payments meant they would not be searched or, if so, only superficially. M said this was a feature of life repugnant to most Timorese - ie, one could "buy" the army.

h. Situation of ex-resisters:

- People who have surrendered are constantly called to report to the army.
- His uncle was in the bush and captured in 1980. He was initially held in prison and has to report constantly to the military in Dili. M and all his relations are afraid to visit him because they are afraid they will be placed under suspicion of having sympathies for the resistance.
- He knows of another person sacked from his job because his sons were members of Fretilin.
- Believes that any Fretilin who surrender face a high certainty of being killed. A friend of his who surrendered in 1980 was immediately executed. Most Fretilin leaders are killed. "Only 1 or 2 live and are 'used'; the rest are killed or disappear."

i. Timorese attitudes:

- In November 1981, he received a letter from a priest in Dili who said - "You know what the situation has been like - all I can say is that it is getting worse."
- At a conference in Jakarta in 1981, another East Timorese priest said Timor is facing an uncertain situation and is not moving towards a solution.
- M has the impression that the Javanese have colonized the rest of Indonesia and this is what East Timor is suffering from.
- People refuse to take citizenship because they are not happy to be part of Indonesia. Even Apodeti and UDT members who fought with Indonesia now won't take citizenship. They are being closely watched.
- Before leaving Dili, he took many photos - but fearing a search at the airport, didn't carry them out. He was closely searched and asked questions like: "Has Timor progressed?", "I wanted to go to Jakarta - this was not the time to tell the truth", he said.

INTERVIEW WITH N 15 March 1982

N has not been back to East Timor for 18 months. He is currently preparing to be a part of the Church personnel in East Timor. His position is illustrative of the confusion some have who have not been to Timor for some time.

Church and cooperation with the Government

N . is sure that before 1977 the Church clearly refused to accept Government aid, or to help to distribute it. " The did not want to be part of Indonesian assistance, or to be tied to Indonesia in any way".

Now N seems confused about the position of the Bishop of Dili. On the one hand, he had made repeated requests to government officials and to the President himself that the Indonesians in East Timor pay attention to the plight of the people. On the other hand, he asks " why won't the Bishop use all the money the Indonesian Government offers?" N thinks his own studies could be paid for by the Department of Religion if the Bishop accepted it. Many priests would like to use government money for specified uses, especially for relief or emergency aid, said N . Some priests in outlying districts such as Ermera, Manatuto, Baucau are confused because they can't seem to establish a working relationship with the government, while in the meantime the people are suffering. Some priests, e.g. Fr...... received money from CRS but it was taken over by the Government for distribution in their own way and their own time. Sometimes if the priests cooperate with the Governm ent to help them, the people loose their trust in the priest.

News from Timor

In a letter dated 5/3/1982, there is news that many people in Dili and Ermeru are suffering and dying from a Colera outbreak. There appears to be no vaccinations or invuses available to handle the outbreak.

INTERVIEW WITH T.U.V.

T.U.V. are Timorese closely associated with recent developments in Timor.

FOOD SITUATION

The famine conditions are not apparent everywhere. There are some good crop areas but 3/4 of districts still under severe food shortages. Reasons given are numerous. Among other:

- 3 months most of male population did nothing.
- People returned in extremely weak state from the Pagar Betis operation. T thinks the military operation had a decided effect on the present food shortage situation.
- Regular assistance from famine/emergency agencies not available this year.
- Resettlement has caused disruption of farming patterns.
- Poor crop yields due to rats and insufficient rain - 70% of areas planted will yield poor crops - by comparison with previous year. Indications of food deficiency.
- Rp 15 million was taken at the end of February and it was used immediately for food aid and finished in a few days. (K.K. also sent Rp 5 million to be used for other things and most of it was used for food aid during first 2 months of 1982).
- In Baguia, Quelicai many rice fields deserted because people can't go there (leave resettlement area) or because the father of the house is dead - no workers.

Comoro received 185 sacks of milk in 45 kg sacks, but the milk had to be distributed straight away.

One military officer said you can tell who is Fretilin and who is not - the ones who are not well fed are not Fretilin, ie, the skinny unhealthy ones are the ones who are in the Indonesian occupied areas ...

EDUCATION

22000 pupils, 600 teachers, 78 schools } mission schools
government schools { 1 Sec School for every Ka
63 primary schools

The Government brings in Muslims from West Java and Sulawasi, who know nothing of the Catholic traditions and teach only the Islamic religion. Some teachers are army people. There are stories that they rape the senior girls after school - this has been reported as widespread. (eg Liquica). Many children won't go to Government schools because they are scared. The mission schools receive no help from the Government, because they don't trust the mission schools. In Government schools, the teachers are not permitted to teach in Tetum or Portuguese even to the first grades of primary school (which is the practice in other areas of Indonesia). The teachers receive 3 times more money than mission schools teachers. But even then many Indonesian teachers refuse to go back after their leave because they are afraid.

Many of the original mission school buildings are still occupied by the Government. The motivation of Government school teachers is often to get their NIP (status as Government servant and subsequent wage increase) much quicker than usual ... T says the Government will not build any SMA in East Timor to force Timorese to study outside East Timor if they wish to continue.

FRETILIN AND RESISTANCE

There are still incidental military patrols that are ambushed by Fretilin - eg, February 1982 in Viqueque and Quelicai.

There are still many hansip and TNI operating around Mt. Matabian. Also using male adults in the Pagar Betis type operation. Western districts free of resistance. In areas where the army is uncertain the people are forced to leave and 'resettle' in another area. This creates a sort of no man's land.

In January 1982, they found a school run by Fretilin. The priests say Fretilin have sufficient food for a long time in the Eastern district. There was a note in the school run by Fretilin saying "we will last for 20 years" - the school was burnt down by TNI.

OPPRESSION AND VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

1. "People are afraid - they are scared - they do not trust even their own family. People are becoming less willing to utter their disagreement and resentment. The people feel they have no hope - everyone looks with suspicion on the other as a traitor. Families are divided - "it is really a bad situation". "The Timorese cannot endure suffering anymore". (These are some of the isolated remarks made in reference to the complete devestation of the people who are now so divided among themselves).

2. Examples/illustrations of this that have made the people distrustful of everyone.
   a. 2 DPR members put in jail for sending a letter to the President.
   b. In Likisa 89 adults were arrested and forced to confess their associations with Fretilin,
   c. People are constantly harrassed and forced to betray their friends.
   d. Even more so now because Fretilin forces are weakened. The military can force people to go to jail - The army is blackmailing the whole population into submission because in every family there can be found at least one member who was associated with Fretilin.
   e. There are still sharp political divisions among the leaders (priests

included).

f. The Bupatis were forced to sign a letter saying the 500 massacred did not happen after the Bishop mentioned in a sermon that it did happen. Only the Bupati of Bancau refused to sign (it was close to his region that it happened, ie, at Lakluta.

3. But below this everyone despises the Indonesians.

4. T says the Timorese cannot endure any more suffering.

5. The Governor has been given a 19 year old Islam wife from Tebet Jakarta. T sees this as part of the divide and rule tactics of the military.

6. ELECTION PREPARATIONS: It is thought that the elections are going to be used as a kind of referendum. The preparations have been going on for a long time. Military are giving lectures on how to vote including instructions on staying in the centre - not going to either extreme (Golkar party is the centre picture).

7. Lakluta 500 incident: At the end of the Pagar Betis operation people were in a village. It was night - army surrounded village, fired through the houses with automatic rifles; did not know who was there. The Batallion was 744/5. There were also Timorese in it. Only in the morning did they discover there were only women and children and no Fretilin army. The shame was so great they confessed to the Bishop. Some took photographs - which have been seen. The Batallion 744/5 was withdrawn to Klatem, Central Java. When the Bishop mentioned it in his sermon, Bupatis all forced to sign a letter declaring it did not happen. Benny Murdani confesses there were at least 80 people. Deaths were possibly somewhere between 2-4 hundred in this incident alone.

RESETTLEMENT

1. T says he has not seen any new resettlement sites established during the past two years.

2. But there is restricted movement into the Eastern region eg, Laga.

3. After an ambush people are restricted in their movement to within 5km - in December 1981 there were still heavy restrictions.

4. Population of Dili has doubled - but perhaps as many as 50% are from outside East Timor.

REFUGEES

T has a list of 300 people who want to leave Dili but cannot for financial reasons.

DILI CHURCH

V. says the Ap. Admin. has more credibility than he can claim. His facts are correct but the interpretations and predictions are based on his emotional involvement, as a Timorese with Portuguese ties.

There are 13 dioceses - There has been a tendency to become dependent on outside resources. V feels the priests are divided and not cooperating, each one trying to get money for his district or parish. V also says divisions also exist over integration:

- Bishop, SJ and indigenous clergy against integration
- Monteiro and Goan priests want to move closer to Indonesia
- Indonesian personnel take integration for granted.

Generally there is conflict between the church and army. Church has a low estimate of army, so will be difficult to foresee cooperation. The people depend on church. The role of the church is key. It is definitely hoding back the process of integration. Is this going to make it easier or more difficult?

The main problems facing the church, according to V, are:

*the struggle for independence
*this includes its own independent initiatives to solve its own problems
*accountability
*fund raising

None of the official clergy have applied for Indonesian citizenship and so far have refused to put their property deeds in order according to the requirements of Indonesian law.

The previous Bishop, Ribeiro, was actually removed against his will. The present man was put in his place and is the man we should be supporting wherever possible

The present position of the Apostolic Administrator (Bishop) is weakened by the vulnerability he has. He has no permanent position and can be replaced by the Pro Nuncio (Vatican).

Some priests do not support him fully for numerous reasons, both political or administrative.

VATICAN POSITION

V thinks the Papal Nuncio would like to see an 'integration' solution to the East Timor conflict between church and Indonesians.

T. said the Pro Nuncio's position is to hold off. He does not seem to have a clear position and has stated that he would like to solve the problem peacefully. He wants all conflict to end as soon as possible and would prefer the East Timorese church not to become involved politically in any way without his consent. He refused to let the Arch Bishop of Jakarta go there until after the elections - "because it might be very dangerous."

The Pro Nuncio has explicitly requested all involved parties to say nothing about what is happening in East Timor to outsiders - (especially Australians, says U). The Pro Nuncio is in possession of full reports from the ICRC team and other documents. He also spoke with Whitlam who agreed to keep the conversation confidential.

The Pro Nuncio seems to have made an agreement with certain government officials to say nothing about the negative food/crisis situation in East Timor at the moment - and is angry with the Apostolic Administrator for doing so without consultations.

The risky situation of the church and of church liaison.

Both the Pro Nuncio and BAKIN, have power to stop Church personnel going to East Timor. They believe there is a real danger of this, which would mean that assistance may not get through as it does now.

The priest, Bishop or religious personnel consider it too risky to make a political statement now. They feel more and more isolated from the international support and more and more powerless. They are looking for ways of survival from within, depending on their own resources, says T. e.g. they are aware of the decrease in number of UN votes over years.

The church money sent through the Dili bank is being questioned and the bank is reluctant to release it to the Dili church.

GOVERNMENT MANIPULATION OF CHURCH

1. The Antonius Foundation (Yayasan) was set up in mid 1981 to handle Government funding to churches. The Bishop regretted giving his authorization to it when he discovered what its powers were, but so far there is no way of withdrawing that authorization. The constitutions of this new foundation put it in charge of almost everything related to church personnel - even their (spiritual) personal needs.

The Bishop has subsequently made a statement that the church has nothing to do with it.

Benny Murdani has requested the board members, (including top Government and military people, eg, Fernando,Kalange, Lukas Leo) to say nothing about the Yayasan. Jose Antonio is its procurator. He is known to be far more pro integrationist than Msgr. da Costa Lopes - and would be his most likely successor.

2. It is thought that the army is responsible for rumours that certain priests have wives and children (true only in the case of one priest who left the priesthood).

3. In the districts, the priests are isolated by the army.

4. There has been no support for Catholic education system in East Timor by Government, making it difficult to survive, the Baguia teachers residence has recently been burnt down by the military in an attempt to get teachers to leave the mission school. This is all pressure on the church to accept integration.

POPULATION

1970 700 000 + the tribal peoples who were not included

1980 552 000 is present Government statistic - but the mountain/tribal people are now resettled in the small towns and so would have been counted,

200 000 of these are children
300 000 others consists mostly of women.

INTERVIEW W 5 March 1982

He is an officer at Australian embassy. I accompanied Lay Mi-Fa, her two sisters and the brother of P. The two sisters are on the agreed list of 625. They have Portuguese passports and entry permits for Australia. They had not yet submitted their passports for gaining exit permit. We visited W. to get his advice on process:

EXIT PERMIT PROCESS
1. When I asked him about the process of gaining an exit permit, he suggested that I ask P - "he knows more about it than I do."

AUSTRALIAN PARTICIPATION IN PROCESS?
2. I asked whether there would be some advantage in him or his representative from the Embassy accompanying them to the Immigration office, saying that they were on the Australian-Indonesian agreed list and asking that the exit permit process be expedited. His first reaction was "do you want us to declare war?" I politely rejected the question. He then said that he thought it would be of little influence to go to "the man at the desk" because the decision on exit is made by General Murdani. He approves all exits ' including minor children. "Besides", he said, shuffling in his chair and stacking files, "I don't have the time to do that."

ISOLATED CHILDREN
3. He did not display a sympathetic chord to my suggestion that the case of the Lay children was a special one - given the fact of their father's death in Jakarta. He did point out that on 4 June last year, an isolated child received his exit permit the same day the passport was submitted. He said he thought that there should not be much problem for the Lay children as they were minors and isolated.

OTHER APPROACHES?
4. I asked whether there might be other approaches. He looked around the room, repeating the question "other approaches?", then said that they were only the immigration department. He added however, that they had put a suggestion to Canberra - but he would rather not reveal its nature yet.

5. He suggested the best thing for the Lay sisters was to submit the passports for exit permits. Until that is done, nothing can happen.

6. Their plane tickets paid for by Australian embassy, would be available for them to pick up on 10 March.